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DISCOURSES AND LETTERS OF HUBERT MURRAY BURGE

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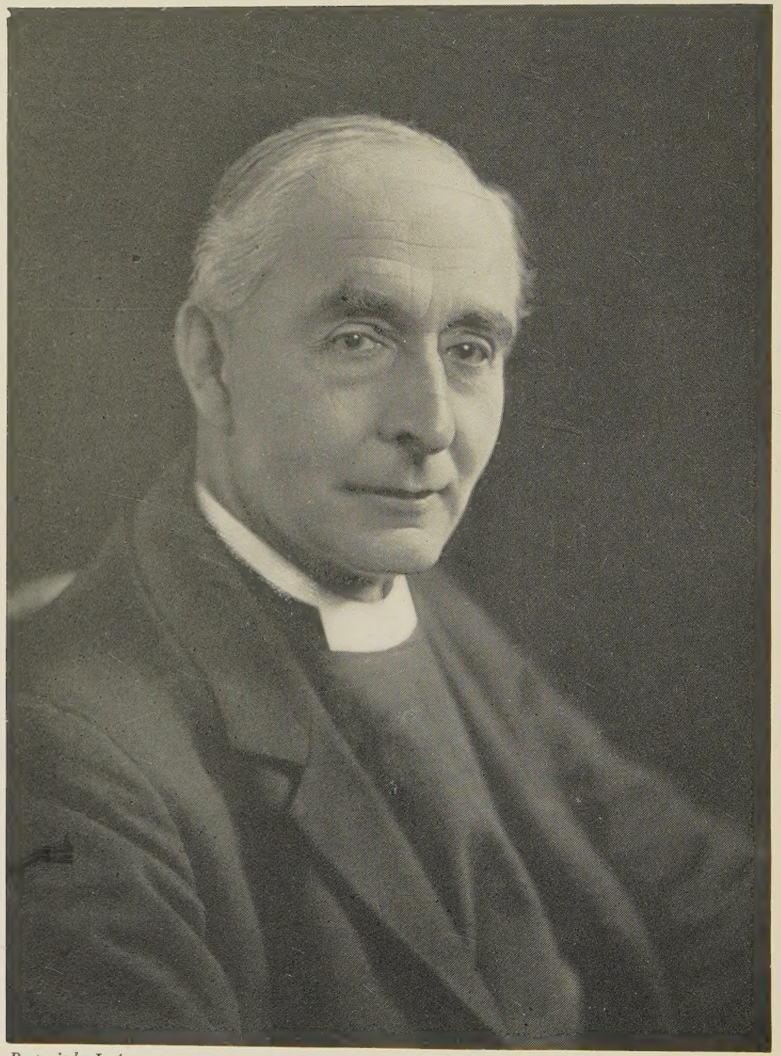

Portrait by Lafayette

HUBERT MURRAY BURGE

DISCOURSES AND LETTERS

OF

HUBERT MURRAY BURGE

D.D., K.C.V.O.
BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK, 1911–1919
BISHOP OF OXFORD, 1919–1925

Edited with a memoir by

LORD CHARNWOOD

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CONTENTS

MEMOIR BY LORD CHARNWOOD PAGE 3

RELIGIOUS LIFE AT THE UNIVERSITY 71

THE CHURCH AND THE ORGANISATION OF CHARITY 81

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION HERE AND ABROAD 92

FROM THE BISHOP'S CHARGE IN SOUTHWARK CATHEDRAL 106

1. English Church Organisation 106
2. Parochialism, True and False 114
3. The Line of Least Resistance 118
4. The Obligation of Study 122
5. The Church System and the Christian Spirit 128
6. Reunion 132

"EXCEPT YOUR RIGHTEOUSNESS——" 156

THE CHURCH IN THE WORLD 164

FREEDOM 173

AD CLERUM 183

THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY 195

ADDRESSES AT TALBOT SETTLEMENT 216

1. Detachment 216
2. Christian Discipleship 235
3. Spiritual Influence 239

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS TO ARTHUR KEMBALL COOK 246

MEMOIR
BY
LORD CHARNWOOD

MEMOIR

HUBERT MURRAY BURGE's laborious years were lighted by joyous interest in the life around him and undismayed confidence in the cause for which he strove. In the great positions which he successively held, as Headmaster of Winchester, and as Bishop, first of Southwark, then of Oxford, he displayed an easy command of administrative detail, a mellow and ever-growing wealth of learning, and a kindly gift, which might well be called genius, of knowing and caring for countless individuals. In each of these offices he succeeded admirably, and in each he became beloved by a strangely large number—beloved beyond measure by some few closer friends. In such a life it may well be that "nothing happens", nothing except that innumerable little things go noiselessly right instead of disastrously wrong, and innumerable men and women, small and sometimes great, do much better than they would otherwise have done. Full and detailed biography in such a case may easily be dull, and a dull story of Burge would be an untrue story. And it is beyond the hope of the present editor to delineate a character, forcible by reason simply of wisdom, sincerity, and gentleness, attractive not through any eccentricity or capacity to startle, but through nothing more definable than charm. But, though his crowded days left him no space to write for posterity, his friends think it right that a selection rigorously made, from those few of his utterances which happen to survive in print or writing, should be offered in permanent form to a wider circle, even though the resulting volume must be avowed to be inadequate as a measure of the man. Some slight outline of his career is plainly demanded as a preface, together with some comments which may help a stranger to grasp more readily the main purposes which governed what he did and said. For

readers who knew Burge, the friend on whom the lot of editor has fallen may hope—if only through the contrast of his own inadequate words with their fuller and more vivid impressions—to strengthen memories which they would not willingly let die.

Happily, from the time he left Winchester to his death it was one of his occasional enjoyments to keep up a free and intimate correspondence with one friend whose many gifts, whose tastes and whose views of most things were singularly congenial to him. This was the late Mr. A. K. Cook of Winchester, of whom many Wykehamists cherish delightful and affectionate recollections. Miss Katherine Cook, who shared her father's friendship with him, has kindly consented that large parts of Burge's letters to her father should be printed in this volume. From these and from one or two deeply characteristic addresses and sermons also printed here, a stranger may learn better than from this memoir what manner of man Burge was.

Hubert was born on the 9th of August 1862 at Meerut, where his father, the Reverend Milward Rodon Burge, was then Chaplain to the Forces.

Milward was the son of William Burge, K.C., D.C.L., F.R.S., by his first wife, who had been Miss Helen Ludford of Ansley Hall, Warwickshire. The said William, Hubert's grandfather, hailed from Castle Cary in Somerset. Having gone young to Oxford and been called to the Bar, he spent twenty years in the West Indies and became Attorney-General of Jamaica. On his return home he became an active Member of the Parliament of 1830–1831, in which he sat for Eye. He voted against the Reform Bill and lost his seat. He was an authority on bankruptcy. Moreover, not to speak of his other legal writings and activities, he was the author of *Commentaries on Colonial and Foreign Law*, which, as re-edited in 1907, is still the classic treatise upon its subject. As a Bencher of the Inner Temple he was actively concerned in the restoration of the Temple Church, and the

book which he wrote upon this matter is still often referred to. He was also eager for the restoration of a fine choral service in that church, and in other great churches, and his little treatise, written in 1844, *The Choral Service of the Anglo-Catholic Church*, contains delicate touches of piety. He died in 1849 at the age of sixty-two.

Milward, Hubert's father, who was born in 1827, married at Lutterworth in 1850 Miss Marie Louise Rafaelle Price, a lady somewhat older than himself. In 1853 he went to India as a Chaplain in the Bengal Military Service. In 1867 he became Chaplain to the Bishop of Calcutta.

Old and distinguished residents in Calcutta have told how attractive was the Burge household there. In 1870 Mr. Milward Burge was about to be appointed Archdeacon of Lahore when his health so failed him that he had to return to England, and four years afterwards, when Hubert was only twelve, he died at Wanlip, Leicestershire, of which he had become Curate in Charge.

Mrs. Milward Burge was the daughter of a gentleman in Guernsey. Her cousin, Bonamy Price, intimately known by her family, was a friend of Dr. Arnold, who for a time secured his services as a master at Rugby. In later life he became a well-known figure in the society of Oxford, where he was Professor of Political Economy. It was of his determination to "apply in all their unmitigated authority the principles of abstract political economy even to the people and circumstances of Ireland" that Mr. Gladstone spoke, with respectful irony, in the once famous speech in which he was declared to have banished that science to Jupiter and Saturn. Thus if Hubert was through life inclined to advanced Liberalism it was not for want of more respectable connections on both sides of his family.

Mrs. Price, Hubert's maternal grandmother, was a Neapolitan lady of whom, for some reason, the Burge family were disinclined to say much. Hubert, however,

who had never seen her, was rather fond of mentioning her, doubtless conjecturing that he himself derived not a little from the Southern Italian strain in his ancestry. Plainly his physical colouring was due to it; probably the charm of his full, deep voice. But he had also characteristics of mind and temperament which are rather uncommon in Englishmen and are often to be noticed in Italians. Such perhaps were his unaffected and wholesome love of beauty; his great liking for the companionship of women; his freedom from self-consciousness and needless embarrassment; the easy blending in his nature of high devotion with love of life in all its forms; and his quick, occasional lapses into deep depression from which he returned no less quickly to his habitual high level of animation.

Hubert was the younger of two brothers (the elder, like him, made education his profession). He had also two elder sisters. He and his mother came to England when he was seven, under the special care of Lord Lawrence, who sailed home in the same ship. On the death of the father, who had followed his family home after a year, that family was left with little money. Mrs. Milward Burge, who lived long enough to see Hubert happily married, was a woman whose charm and high intelligence are still remembered. She was also a woman of practical capacity, and a mother whose upbringing of her son Hubert was the greatest among the happy influences of his education. For all the pleasure and all the refinement that he evidently associated with home, she made it her business that he should realise how entirely his living must depend thereafter on his own exertions. This was a recollection which always seemed to please him, and he would repeat gleefully how she set before him when he was very young the alternative of "a scholarship or a shoe-black's outfit". Hs was for a time at a preparatory school kept by Mr. Price, one of his uncles, at Philberds,

Maidenhead; his mother went later to live at Bedford, attracted by the low fees then payable in Bedford School, where he entered as a day boy. His education prospered under the teaching of Dr. Philpotts, whose kindness he always remembered, and he played in the school Eleven. Childhood and boyhood are conventionally spoken of as if their sunshine was never clouded. In fact they most often involve some experience of trial and pain, generally borne in silence. Whether or not it was partly due to the memory of some such early sorrow unrevealed, the happy schoolboy passed on into happy manhood endowed with a peculiar gift of sympathy for young folk less happy and less successful than himself.

In the autumn of 1882 he went up to Oxford as a Scholar of University College.

Oxford and Cambridge stand unrivalled in the world as seats of learning where work and play are happily blended, where young men of very diverse types, tastes, origins, and fortunes meet together to their mutual advantage and with rare equality, and where the supreme aim, consciously pursued by the governing powers, of helping nice boys to grow into good and useful men, does but favour the output in many fields of knowledge of sound work upon which the universities of no other land can look down. And in the Oxford of that time few traces or none were left of the influences which make reminiscences of Oxford life a generation earlier (or at least of the more serious side of that life) painful reading. The narrowness and the vulgar spitefulness which had marked theological contention had passed away. Whatever might once have been the case, it was hard for an undergraduate to be a snob. The mind of Oxford was almost distractingly alive to the movement and the currents of thought of England outside. And if, as must often happen, men studying one subject became unaware that other subjects existed, there was enough variety of work going on in the University to make it their

own fault. These familiar praises of Oxford, as Burge's contemporaries remember it, are here recited, because there were very few among them better able than he to get all the good that could be got from the many-sided life of the place, to enjoy it immensely, and to enjoy it unspoiled.

His own particular college was a distinguished college. Sir Charles Mallet, in his great history of Oxford, tells of the marked revival of University in the course of the nineteenth century, and having spoken of Dean Bradley's long-remembered mastership, thus proceeds:

> When Bradley followed Stanley [himself a Fellow and Tutor of Univ.] in 1881 to the Deanery of Westminster, Dr. James Franck Bright maintained most happily the same traditions, assisted by colleagues like Reginald Macan, who was one day to sit in his turn in the Master's seat. Political leaders, it was noted, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Selborne, Lord Salisbury, Sir Stafford Northcote, sent sons to University College. In Dr. Bright's day more than one Cecil was conspicuous in its history, including the present head of the house. Lord Robert Cecil proved his quality of winning trust and admiration even from opponents. Hubert Burge grew from an undergraduate into a College Tutor, passed on to Headmasterships, returned to rule the diocese, with wisdom deepening, affection gathering where he went.[1]

Much of Hubert Burge's life is summed up in this last sentence. That quality, pre-eminently rare, of which in his latest years many men were conscious in his presence, seemed to those who had known him long before to have grown, by a process all the more strange because there was never in it any violent transition, out of aptitudes and faculties, none of them singly remarkable, which had made him successful and popular as a very normal undergraduate.

[1] E. W. Coghlan, whom Sir Charles Mallet here mentions in a footnote and whom Sir A. H. Hawkins also commemorates in his *Memories and Notes*, was a great friend of Burge's.

He read for Classical Moderations and for the School of Literae Humaniores, commonly called "Greats". Classical Moderations, it should be explained, is a preliminary course in Greek and Latin literature, in which the great poets and orators are studied with a special view to exact knowledge of the languages concerned. In "Greats", the longer course of classical studies which comes later, mastery of Greek and Latin still counts, but of the books in these languages which must be read some are chosen as the chief of our original authorities for the history of two periods in history, each of them short but each great and of decisive importance in the history of civilisation, and the others as embodying the profoundest philosophic thought of Greece and forming the gateway to philosophic study generally; the examination tests not merely knowledge of the ancient books prescribed, but historical grasp of the periods in question, and elementary acquaintance with and capacity for moral philosophy and logic (in the wide sense of the study of fundamental questions concerning all human knowledge and human thought); a wide choice is left to the individual student as to the subjects to which he will specially apply himself and those upon which he must be content with a slighter but so far as it goes accurate knowledge. This discipline, wide and elastic, but intolerant (as all good Oxford teachers strove to make it) of inaccuracy and of pretence, was very congenial to Burge. He grew at school and at college to be a good, though not exceptionally brilliant, scholar. He developed a keen love of poetry, and an extremely wide range of human interests. He must from the first have been gifted with an uncommon facility for rapid but careful reading, and with versatility in turning from one subject or occupation to another. In one sense he may be said to have become a philosopher, for in later years all that he had ever learnt seemed to hang together in his mind as one whole, pervaded by the spirit which animated his life, and related to its single aim. But,

on the whole, for philosophy in the usual sense of intense study applied to a few problems at the root of other knowledge he had little inclination, nor as a young man at any rate did he show in any other direction the tastes or the aptitudes which lead men to a life of profound research. Probably he fulfilled the expectations of his schoolmasters and college tutors when he achieved in due course a 1st Class in Mods. (much to be desired by one who wants to be a master in a Public School) and afterwards a 2nd in Greats. Very likely he began to acquire in the Greats School his firm grasp of some of the standing problems which perplex political thought.

Meanwhile he was a reasonably athletic youth, became known to many friends as a useful cricketer, and got so far as to be tried for the Oxford Eleven. Cricket remained for long one of the great delights of his life, and, if afterwards he declined upon golf, he had always an eager flow of cricket shop ready for company that was worthy of it. Companionship in play became for him the foundation of many lifelong friendships. Equally free from self-assertiveness or a desire to climb, and from the tongue-tied shyness which with most young Englishmen hampers the process of making acquaintance, he made wherever he went friends with many men of many kinds; made friends in a more real sense with some few of them, for the geniality and obvious kindliness which made him attractive in casual intercourse, veiled an increasingly acute power of discernment and discrimination, and as quite a young man he possessed a certain personal dignity which did not need to assert itself.

Physically he was a striking figure. With a ready broad smile, and pleasant wholesome complexion, straight jet-black hair, dark deep-set eyes, a forehead rather broad than high, long and full black eyebrows on prominent brows, his face, which with age gained a certain beauty, could then at best have been called agreeably rugged.

Tall, broad-shouldered, large-boned, and manifestly active, though not with that spareness of flesh which in later life made his figure singularly graceful, he bore the appearance of a robustly vigorous young man. The appearance was but partly true, and keener observers might have detected from a slight stoop and other trifling signs a lurking frailty of health. He had, in fact, not fully recovered, and never did recover, the effects of an attack of pleurisy in his early boyhood. They showed themselves so far chiefly in some slight digestive trouble, and those who know best declare that hardly for a day even in his undergraduate time had he the sensation of real bodily fitness. This says much for the vigour of the soul within. For then and to the end his capacity for considerable exertion, and his delight in games, and later in fishing, in long walks over the hills, and in war-time farm work, were far above the average. As in the young Wordsworth, delight in the glory of nature mingled with these things.

Men of other colleges would naturally meet him most when he was already a senior among undergraduates—met him, for example, at the gatherings of such a body as the committee which organised that support from undergraduate Oxford by which the first "University Settlement", Toynbee Hall, was founded. Such friends would at first be struck by his simple seriousness, his air of quiet capacity, and a gravity rather to be expected in a man several years older. Perhaps the realisation, throughout those delightful days, that he would have to earn every pennyworth of his living, had something to do with it. Perhaps the forewarnings of hidden physical frailty contributed. Doubtless the steady maturing of purpose set high did more. In any case then and to the end gravity and gaiety mingled in him with rare ease. Some who knew him as an undergraduate and knew him as a bishop will recall him first as an obviously serious young man when almost everything around him was enjoyable and he heartily

enjoyed it, and then remember his unfailing capacity for light-hearted pleasure in very solemn times long after.

Among his Oxford pastors and masters (now dead—for none living shall be discussed) two stood out, and beyond all question set their mark upon his growing mind. One of these was Dr. James Franck Bright, the Master of Univ., afterwards to be his father-in-law. Outside Univ. the Master was well known, by his burly form, his huge beard, and his impressive stammer, known to some by his reputation for a robust Liberalism coupled with much efficiency and good sense in the affairs of his College and the University, to some as the writer of a school history of England, perhaps the first of its kind, which in our school days we found very dry, but may have come to turn to afterwards with appreciation of its width of view, justice, and unfailing good sense; but to some, being an occasional visitant to their own College chapel, he was known in quite another way. Dr. Bright was a Churchman of a type never quite extinct in Oxford to whom whatever discoveries and new thoughts the course of the world might bring were heartily welcome, and could cast no shadow either of doubt or of depreciation upon the central thought which was the staple of their creed. In his sermons his width of view and force of intellect were manifest enough but counted for little beside a more uncommon gift; his audience, while never suffered for a moment to lose sight of the world of facts and duties, found themselves drawn for a while within an atmosphere of spiritual nobility, in which it could matter to them nothing whether his tenets were broad or high.

The other teacher, whom Burge much later called "my hero as an undergraduate and great friend afterwards", was the philosophy tutor of Balliol, whose lectures he attended, Richard Lewis Nettleship. Burge, as has been said, was in the usual sense no philosopher. Nettleship, on the contrary, was one of those uncommon men who make it possible to realise what a philosopher should mean, a man to whom

speculative thought is a sufficing passion, and a noble one. This most original and much-loved man, who died too young in a snow-storm on Mont Blanc, has been portrayed by Sir Anthony Hope Hawkins, whose *Memories and Notes by Anthony Hope* describe the Oxford of his and Burge's day far better than most men who attempt the like can achieve; and no other friend would wish to alter a line in the portrait.[1] Nor should any word be added to it here but that certain sound habits of thought which became eminently characteristic of Burge were such as Nettleship, by the whole tenor of his teaching, by his casual talk, and by his very mannerisms, seemed bent on inculcating. That before acceptance or rejection of any man's doctrine, if we consider it at all, should come the effort to follow the steps by which he got there, and to see the facts which he saw; that the current terms and catchwords of our own moral and political thinking demand on our part the persistent effort to be quite clear what we mean; that noisy current controversies usually arise from the neglect of that effort; that controversy anyhow is a poor thing, and that if you have something to say you had better say it upon its own merits and not by way of detraction from another man who says something else—these things he drove into our ears, and Burge's were willing ears. This much, too, of a metaphysic any intelligent hearer might have caught from him: that the world is a whole, and all knowledge of it interrelated; that we know in part, and know some things more clearly than others, and if we continue to know must all the while be learning more; that we see in a glass darkly, but that this is quite another thing from not seeing at all.

[1] In his charming Life of another friend of Nettleship's, Cecil Spring Rice, Mr. Stephen Gwynn describes Nettleship as "tongue-tied and hesitant before his classes". He was really a man with an extraordinary power of ready and lucid speech, famous in Oxford as about the best lecturer of his time, and well known inside Balliol as an excellent speaker on such occasions as "bump suppers".

In 1886 Burge took his degree and parted from Oxford for a while. A talented and blameless youth, fortunate thus far in his circumstances, he was assured by his past achievements and the friendships which he had formed of fair prosperity in the congenial course on which he had entered. This is almost as much as to say that a cynical observer might have foretold for him a life of competent and contented mediocrity, settling down perhaps by degrees to a lower (though in his case it could never have been a discreditable) level.

For the next four years he was an Assistant Master at Wellington, where he became greatly attached to the Headmaster, Dr. Edward Charles Wickham, afterwards Dean of Lincoln, a true scholar and a true divine, and to Mrs. Wickham. Mrs. Wickham was a daughter of Mr. Gladstone, and Burge met him at luncheon at the Headmaster's house. "You young Liberals", said Mr. Gladstone, turning round to him, "will some day have a very difficult choice to make. You will have to decide between the old Liberalism and Socialism." Forty years later Burge was applying himself with eager interest to that problem.

At the end of 1890 his old college, Univ., prevailed upon him to return as a Fellow and Tutor, and to lecture for Classical Moderations. He could not fail to make any subject which he taught interesting, and he won the reputation of being a man who could make grammar actually entertaining. But the College valued equally the part which he played in the affairs of its life generally, and his way of handling young men which for all its companionable and even indulgent sympathy could be none the less forcible when his keen sense of right made him angry. Outside reputation attributed to him a large share in the continued prosperity of Univ.

In 1897 he was ordained Deacon. In 1898 he was ordained Priest. In the same year he married Dr. Bright's daughter Evelyn, the mother of his son and daughter,

Stephen Franck Milward Burge and Hester Mary Burge, who like her survive him. This memoir is concerned with Burge's public work and teaching, and with his more intimate life only so far as it was illustrated by them. But no man to whom the materials for this volume had been handed over and who had been privileged to consult the wishes and the judgment of Burge's wife in regard to it, could, from any fear of impertinence, here refrain from paying her the sincere and profoundly respectful tribute of his homage.

Before this Burge had already begun to be talked about as a man conspicuously fitted for the headmastership of some important school; and invitations or approaches of some sort from the authorities of several schools were made to him about this time. Marriage and going out of College must seriously alter a don's relations to his work, and a man of more than common mental vigour cannot go on for an indefinite time teaching young men at the University, unless indeed he feels that his own special tastes and gifts lead him to profounder research in one of the subjects which he teaches. Burge's enthusiasm and his hopes as to what he might accomplish had been developing on quite other lines. He would have been an interesting teacher upon any subject that he could teach at all mainly because his own interest in the people to whom he taught it was greater than his interest in that subject; and if he could play with undergraduates or Public School boys it did not follow that this human interest of his was at all restricted to them. His thoughts had come to be occupied with problems of the organisation and general aims of education in their relation to national life.

Presumably it was the prospect of being called to be the head of some great school that determined him to become a clergyman just when he did. That he should take that step one day or another, and enter a profession which could still engross all his ardour when the time came—as it does—for a schoolmaster to change his way of life, would

have seemed the most natural thing possible to anyone who had detected the force of simple, serious purpose which was behind his cheerful activities, and which on any but the most superficial acquaintance with him was plain. It is amusing now to recollect that some of his contemporaries were surprised at it. The causes of hesitation which would have presented themselves to many of them probably never troubled him at all.

He was no longer young enough to worry himself about points which maturer judgment would teach him to treat as minutiae or immaterial formalities; and for the solemn questions of substance which a man must face at that crisis, whether without equivocation or half-heartedness he could dedicate himself as a minister of Jesus Christ, and whether, year in, year out, he could go on using in that ministry the appointed order of the Church without there arising in his mind from the general tenor of it some haunting sense of unreality in his life[1]—as to all this he seems to have had no hesitation. Indeed neither then nor earlier does he seem to have gone through those acute spasms of doubt concerning the foundations of Christian belief which perhaps most high-minded and educated men of his generation had. There is a certain quality, intellectually robust but none the less extraordinarily child-like, in some passages to be found in this book, which makes it the more likely that no such definite crisis ever came to him. There was, however, one question concerning his taking orders which he did think serious enough to require at least some discussion with a sagacious adviser. This was whether, if he was a headmaster, he could serve his boys better as a clergyman or as a layman. Strong protests had lately been made against the practice of choosing, whenever possible, clergy-

[1] These sentences are an attempt to convey the gist of advice once given to a young man by Mr. Jowett, the Master of Balliol, as to what was the real question upon which anyone who thought of taking orders should examine himself.

men as headmasters; forcible letters appeared in the newspapers declaring not only that this was needless but that in every respect lay teachers had a surer and more wholesome influence on boys' minds; it was argued that piety and high principle in a layman commanded their ready respect, while in a clergyman these were not so readily taken to be quite genuine. The fact seems to be that Public School boys are pretty quick as a rule to detect a humbug who teaches them and to welcome a true man, and in doing so are unbiassed by the circumstance of his being clerical or lay. Education is one whole, and it is a sound instinct which often makes a man who is to have the supreme control of the teaching in a school desire to be its chief religious pastor. Anyway Burge having once faced the question found no difficulty in answering it.

In September 1900 he went to Repton as Headmaster. The teaching of the new head, his handling of his own house, the spirit which he seemed able to infuse into the whole life of the school, made at once a deep impression upon the boys, the masters, and the Governing Body. It was therefore with great disappointment that Repton learnt in February 1901 that he had accepted the headmastership of Winchester. It was also with an indignation so keenly felt by some that it is necessary to consider how the thing happened.

The headmastership to which he went was not in the matter of money more desirable than that which he left for it, since at Repton besides the salary of that office he had the profits which he could make as a house-master. And Repton is a school which cannot be spoken of without great respect. But, so far as a Wykehamist can permit himself to judge, there are sufficient reasons for thinking the headmastership of Winchester a position of somewhat peculiar importance in the educational life of the nation; and at that time while the character of English higher education generally was undergoing important develop-

ments, Winchester in particular had before it questions of great difficulty to settle. The Headmaster, Dr. Fearon, earlier known at Winchester as a stimulating teacher whose occasional lectures on history stand out in the memory of those who heard them, and to be known afterwards for twenty years in the Winchester Diocese as the best Archdeacon there ever was, had long before resolved to quit schoolmastering when he was sixty. Looking forward anxiously to the future, he was known to have set his heart upon Burge as the man best fitted to cope with the situation that was arising; and he had told Burge so. The appointment, however, lay not with Fearon, but with a Governing Body not likely to be dictated to.

For a long while back the Headmaster had always been himself a Wykehamist, and some thought it would be a sort of desecration to break with this tradition. And there was, available whenever Fearon went, one conspicuously possible successor to him, a man of ability, fearlessness, and energy, who had earned scholastic distinction greater than Burge's, and who was a Wykehamist with strong Wykehamist connections. Burge, who was in no case ready to overestimate his own qualifications for anything, would have been fatuous if he had assumed himself fore-ordained to Winchester. He did for one reason or another refuse one or two headmasterships that were offered him. When Repton was offered, the friends upon whom he most relied urged on him very strongly that if he ever wanted to take such a post he must take this. So he did. The shortness of his sojourn, beneficial to the school while it lasted, did Repton no harm. The two capable Headmasters who came there after him are now respectively Dean and Archbishop of York. It would plainly be monstrous to suggest as a principle that a man who takes such a post binds himself to reject any better opening which may even very soon after present itself. Nor perhaps was this felt; the suggestion against Burge seems to be that, in answer apparently to

some question—which if it was asked ought never to have been asked—he did say something which seemed to some of the Governing Body of Repton to commit him to a long stay.

As to this, it is right to say quite frankly that Burge was capable in such a case of saying something, to be remembered against him afterwards, which a man of rougher tongue would not have said. Friends who had afterwards the best opportunities of judging him came to rely upon his firmness and strength whenever a moment for decision came, but they remarked, sometimes with irritation, that he did not find it easy to say no. Perhaps it went along with the extraordinary readiness and charm of his sympathy with all manner of men that, when people approached him with a suggestion to which in the end he would certainly be opposed, he sometimes began by receiving them with a geniality which must end in their feeling disappointed and resentful. It is quite likely that he accepted the Repton headmastership in this mood of effusiveness which was a danger to him. However this may be, it is certain that he himself decided instantly to go to Winchester without a moment's doubt that his duty lay that way. And it seems that a really weighty tribunal, who discussed his action much, his own prefects at Repton, parted with him in the end with the considered conviction that he was a man obeying what to him was the call of duty.

Their judgment at the time was one which his conduct on every like occasion of his later life confirms. He was not indeed a man whose self-confidence failed him when he found himself posted to some position of difficult responsibility, and he was too sincere with himself to ignore his own fitness for such posts when men to whom he looked up insisted upon it. But he was, as he lamented towards the end of his life, "sadly deficient in ambition". "I am sure", he added, "that a man needs the stimulus of ambition, and if he hasn't got it he must school himself very strictly." He

wanted to serve where he felt himself set by authority, but of two positions where there was sufficiency of important work to absorb him he would always personally have preferred the less conspicuous and the one that would perturb him least in his depressed moments of excessive modesty. Thus, that he became Bishop of Southwark, that he continued to be so at a time when his delicate health made it hard to meet all the demands on him, that he went on to Oxford, that, when there, he was not willing to retire upon the very congenial position of Master of his old college—all this had to be brought about by the strong assurance given him by men—Archbishop Davidson among them—whose wisdom he knew, that here there was service to be done which he was the man to do best. The idea cherished by many that he ought eventually to fill a yet higher office in the Church of England was one which, though they must often have told him of it, he could not harbour in his mind. All men are complex, and Burge, who was sensitive, would have been sad if people had not sought to use those gifts of which he must have been aware. But he was right when he said that he lacked ambition, and he should be judged accordingly.

The nine years which Burge spent at Winchester (with a brief return in the tenth after absence through illness) were those in which his work, his surroundings, and his activities were most completely congenial to him. And coming, as he did, a stranger into a community whose ties of traditional loyalty are more than commonly strong, and where it was scarcely remembered that any but a Wykehamist had sat in his seat before, he brought it to pass that Wykehamists of an earlier date now think the more lovingly of their old school because it was Burge's school too. More than one of his predecessors in modern times had been very notable men; one of them, George Ridding, who had left seventeen years before to become the first Bishop of Southwell, had left behind him not merely the reputation of

"second founder" of the school, but the impression on the minds of his old pupils of unique personal greatness, an impression not impaired in the minds of some of them by acquaintance with the most famous Englishmen of that period. Ridding's name comes into this story partly from the writer's inability to think of Winchester or of education without him, but still more from Burge's singular ability in divining and in absorbing, through report and through some consultations with him, the spirit which had governed his school policy—including, as that policy did, what at the time was called a revolution. "No one," says A. K. Cook in describing Ridding, "had a deeper love for the ideals and for the nobler traditions and associations of Winchester; but then no one had a deeper sense that the past may not supersede the present, nor may associations absorb our freedom. 'Catch a noble spirit,' he said in his farewell sermon, 'develop and advance its forms and then let the incrustations of old forms pass away like the last year's slough.' 'You can't imagine Ridding a Pharisee,' a friend wrote to me."[1] The friend who wrote it was Burge, in later years. When he came to Winchester it was with the knowledge that he in turn had to take a hand in a sort of revolution. Innovations had already been begun (not at Winchester alone) in the curriculum and methods of a great "classical" school to meet new demands; it was necessary to provide that these and further innovations should fully and truly meet the demands, and necessary no less that, for all that, the good work which the school had long been doing should go on not merely unimpaired but reinvigorated. Burge

[1] See *About Winchester College*, by A. K. Cook (Macmillan, 1917), pages 53 to 56. Special reference may here be allowed to be made to the further characterisation of Ridding at the top of page 54 of that book. The following also may be quoted from a published letter of Sir Hugh Orange from India: "I do not think that time and absence can ever make any difference to the vivid sense that I shall keep of him as a guide; the tenderness and strength, the charm and the humour of his great personality will always be with me."

was not a greater teacher than his predecessor or his successors, but, as a colleague has said, he brought to bear upon this development, at the critical moment, the mind of a great architect with a wide vision of all that was possible or that might be desired and a sure mastery of petty details.

In writing not for Wykehamists only or for men to whom English classical education means something quite definite, it may be well to approach the question of what Burge did by seeing first what education in this particular classical school was like some years before he came there, pausing, however, to observe that these sometimes very ancient schools are in their most important features worse than ancient—Victorian. An imaginative historian, Mr. Lytton Strachey, who, it must be remembered, writes frankly as one whose own education has not been at a Public School, and of whom Burge, most profanely, remarked, "the trouble with the fellow is that he does not know when not to laugh", has described, in part justly, what Dr. Arnold, a Wykehamist, did for English education while at Rugby; but in his unrestrainedly imaginative conclusion (from which, for example, it might be inferred that Eton boys dress well) he says that the English Public School was left by Arnold and remains "in all essentials a conventual establishment devoted to the teaching of Greek and Latin grammar". Now at Winchester, twenty years before Burge went there, typical boys left well trained in mathematics by a great mathematician, or were thoroughly grounded in geology and have since excelled in it, or have easily become competent French and German scholars since; all who did well in the school read considerable periods of ancient and modern history and many of them had been inspired with an intense interest in the history of their own country; most had, with every encouragement from their masters, read a great deal of English literature out of school; and, alike among those who did well in the school and those who did not, many had acquired for themselves,

and been much encouraged to acquire, a considerable and joyous familiarity with the flowers and the birds of the Itchen valley and of the downs, coupled sometimes with a good notion of the history of English architecture. Such means as lectures can afford of learning that sort of general outline of physical science, which alone great scientists seem to ask the schools to provide, were far from lacking—if the science teaching left much to desire, it was partly no doubt that boys with a special bent for science did not have enough time allowed them for it, but it was also largely because the right teachers and the right method were still there as everywhere to seek. In French and German the great problem, caused by the rival defects of the English teacher to whom the language is foreign and the French or German teacher to whom the boys are foreign, had not been solved, but much less had it been neglected; and the experiment of having in the school an entirely separate "modern side" which was not classical at all had been abandoned only because it proved that such an institution is bound to be in Burge's phrase "a refuge for the indolent". But what about the Greek and Latin literature—not grammar—which all the time did remain the staple of education, and the actual grammar without which there could have been no such study? Greek and Latin, as the staple of higher education, are like some elements in the British constitution; they are there because they have been found to work well; and it is not the eminent men in any branch of life or learning who complain of this feature of their early training. A short statement will be enough to indicate their claim to endure. Every teacher whose pupils have later been grateful to him has consistently put first, as Burge did, the attempt to train the mind and quicken the intelligence, not the attempt to teach boys or girls the particular things which they may thereafter want to know, or may not, and which if well taught to learn they can learn when they want. The

ancient languages, which had begun to be taught when they formed the gateway to all learning, and in particular to physical science, have long ceased to be needed for that purpose, but before they did so their further value had been realised. Latin and Greek have in fact seemed to give to many generations of pupils some inkling of a world of great thoughts and splendid lives, of rightly prized freedom and of an intense public spirit. There is no reason to think them less fitted for this purpose to-day than Chatham, for all his hatred of life at Eton, held that they were; and there is no reason to think that pupils who never get much mastery of these ancient tongues miss altogether on that account the spirit of which they have been made the vehicle. This is no doubt a well-worn, though not a worn-out, reason for the classics; there is another that is less trite. Boys who are set to construe are being exercised (in a manner most convenient, because little plant or arrangement is needed for it) in thought and research and solving problems for themselves. And those problems are after all samples of a supremely important kind of problem: what does the man mean; why did he say that; what is really in the mind of the person with whom for the moment I have to deal ? In the hands of a really great scholar, such as Ridding, the exposition of tangled passages of Thucydides or Saint Paul becomes after a while to his pupils the opening out of great tracts of thought and the unravelling of the subtlety of master minds. Something similar, though on a lesser scale, has to be said of all honest teaching and learning of language. And the grammar, of which by the way the very young are as patient as of any other imposed duty and which is the price to be paid for future facility in reading, stands all the while, from its dullest beginning up to the point where it acquires something of the fascination of a science, for the one thing which in merely intellectual discipline is perhaps chief, accuracy, the habit and the love of accuracy—taught in a field where, up to a point,

accuracy can be instantly tested. A boy can take healthy pride in shirking a task which a master puts on him; but if he does it at all, he takes no pride in the "howlers" that he makes. To the extent to which he thus becomes a scholar he becomes that none too common being, one who can take a message right, or carry out instructions, or give them.

These considerations manifestly have limits and should not be pressed beyond them. It was now the duty of Burge (as of many other teachers throughout England) to set the due limits to the classical tradition of teaching, and he proceeded in the matter boldly. But he did so with an intense conviction of what England, so many of whose best servants (both eminent and obscure) had been trained under a system governed by these considerations, owed to that training. He was determined to do his part, that the solid good in the old system should be kept unimpaired in what seemed to him the only possible way, that, namely, of fair play to the new.

One broad feature of the method which he followed can at once be indicated. Admitted that classical education can do all this good, it does not follow that no other education can do it. Assume (though it is a large assumption) that the best staple teaching for a school is in languages, cannot living languages which can be used practically afterwards be made to serve equally well the present purposes of Greek and Latin? Probably most men who, with a fair knowledge of Greek and Latin, are actually conversant with the language and literature of two or more modern countries, would promptly, perhaps impatiently, answer in favour of the ancients. Burge's answer (not of course to claim for him, as he would never have done, a credit which headmasters of other schools did not share) was, in effect, that such questions would, under a well-devised system in which different educational institutions pulled together, settle themselves best in practice. It was best for all purposes, including the conservation of classical education

itself, that a school curriculum should possess great elasticity, subject only to two conditions to which he clung tenaciously. One condition was that the education on other than classical lines should really be up to as high a standard and be pursued by boys and masters with as much keenness as the classical course. The other condition was that all the school alike should all the time be keeping up what may be called a central course of studies, for which purpose he preserved the old Classical Division as a teaching unit with a life of its own. Whatever a boy's special studies might be he was still to be brought into contact and wholesome rivalry and community of ideas with his fellows, and receive that indefinable but in practice most easily recognised thing, the sound general education, which, far more than any technical preparedness, great men of science and great men of business demand of the public schools.

Before speaking briefly of the solution he found for his problem, we must turn to the objections to which the old system was open. There were very serious objections, but there were naturally also foolish objections by which a system which was not all the time seen to be adapting itself, might have been overwhelmed. Early in the Great War, at a moment when the Victorian Public Schools (and not by any means the so-called Public Schools alone)[1] were

[1] How Burge would have loved if he saw it the inscription which adorns the great staircase of the Home Office:

In memory of nearly four thousand boys
trained in Home Office Schools
who gave their lives for their country in the Great War
1914 to 1918
EXALTAVIT HUMILES.

"Home Office Schools" comprises, of course, the institutions to which little thieves are sent; and anyone who has been present at a Christmas celebration in such a school, when the boys were hearing how old boys were keeping up the credit of the School in the Fleet and in the Field, will know that the spirit of the Public Schools (more important than classical education) is not now confined to those proud foundations alone.

doing their most conspicuous service to the nation, a volume of sheerly fatuous complaints was discharged against them. An Eton parent, for example, wrote to protest that his son upon going in for the entrance examination of the Institute of Civil Engineers had required special coaching in geography, which should surely have been taught him at Eton. The answer that geography was in fact well taught there would not have been surprising, but the true answer was that geography did not happen to be one of the subjects in that examination at all. But the burden of the somewhat better informed complaints, which were published at the same time, was: Why do not these expensive schools teach this, that, and the other subject—Spanish, surveying, book-keeping, Portuguese, and so on indefinitely—which may easily be useful to one boy or another in after life? Now, of course, no school could possibly possess the staff, premises, appliances, and organisation needed to carry out thoroughly the principle which such demands suggest; but there had been for schools a real temptation to placate such criticism as far as possible by simply expanding their curriculum without any definite principle. And the seemingly modest expansion with this view, to which perhaps the schools were inclined, raised a question which to Burge seemed as grave as on reflection it must seem to anyone who thinks what the ordinary boy's—or his own—capacity of learning is: Was it wise that in any given week a boy should be learning Latin, Greek, French, German, History, Science and Mathematics?

No doubt, however, that pressure from outside which the schools did seriously feel was quite reasonable. There were plenty of ways in which a boy's mental discipline at school could be made a better preparation for work which he really was going to enter upon afterwards; and the entrance examinations for professions and services—for example, the Army—were not devised to show favour to Public School men. The schools must meet their demands

or suffer their boys to be drawn away into smaller establishments which would prepare them specially for these examinations but which had no other advantage to commend them.

In Burge's mind another and a more fundamental sort of question arose more insistently. Let the strictly classical curriculum be as good as it can be conceived to be, and good for as many boys; still there are other boys. There is the rather stupid boy, or (which is not the same thing) the backward boy, who early falls out of the running and gets disheartened; there is the boy with definite talents and tastes which lie in some other direction and demand to be satisfied; and there is the boy (very many of him) who in some less accountable way is odd and at school a misfit. For such boys Burge—himself, if there be such a thing, so nearly the normal Public School man—had a positive yearning, and an eye of extraordinary keenness; and in many homes unconnected with Winchester it will long be remembered how by some tiny hint he discovered that young persons, for the present out of it, had considerable possibilities, or conceivably that they had not, and in the former case did them the lasting service of making their parents see it. He was determined by no means to let down the intellectual standard of the boys who had got or would get high up in the school; but he asked himself anxiously whether the average or "unsuited" intellect was not liable to be sacrificed for that purpose, and he felt it as a reproach to which the school was too much exposed that it did not do the best to encourage, interest, and stimulate, by its subjects and methods of instruction, a kind of intelligence which he felt was too often quite underrated.

Such were the thoughts with which he approached his problem, and brought about by a number of readjustments, no one of which came as a shock, a far-reaching change. This does not necessarily mean that no one has done the like elsewhere, much less that he did or tried to

do it without the co-operation of his colleagues. Some of the older masters remarked soon after his arrival the great extent to which the whole staff were consulted, and important decisions were not taken over their heads but came about as the outcome of free discussion. Change and experiment were going on already, as they have doubtless gone on since, and he was (so it seems) sometimes thought of primarily as a man of prompt ingenuity in small expedients to meet special needs. But it is certain that he formed for himself a large design (with large risks to it), and executed it himself, with a gentle but strong hand.

He began apparently with a small but significant change. Certain boys had been let off half their Greek to allow for some other subject. They were now let off all their Greek. Greek was either to be studied enough to make it worth while, or to cease to distract from application to other things. His larger plan, when he accomplished it, was in its main outline fairly simple. There was to be a staple course continuing for every boy from the beginning to the end of his time: Latin, Mathematics, History, Divinity, Science lectures. As to the further subjects which were to be combined with these and which a boy must take, there were to be from a certain stage in the school upwards three alternatives: the strictly Classical with Greek as an important subject, the Scientific and the Modern Languages alternatives, in which two latter, of course, Science and Modern Languages respectively were to take the predominant place which the first alternative gave to the Classics; only it must be added that a boy taking either the Classical or the Scientific line was necessarily to have some teaching in Modern Languages as well. The exact curriculum in Science was the subject of great care. Apart from what boys were taught in school Burge himself did all he could to encourage and guide their general reading out of school, more especially in English history. "I am sure", writes one of the colleagues, "he induced many boys of

medium capacity to drop their fear of big books, biographies, letters, and so on." As to the kinds of instruction offered them which may be called (respectfully) diversions, Burge was the founder of a flourishing music school, and greatly developed a drawing school of which the present head is now the Slade Professor (Ruskin's successor) at Oxford, and encouraged a carpentry class in which great thoroughness was required and to which he hoped metal work might be added, partly as an introduction for little boys to physical science. It would be idle to inquire here into the exact details of a scheme in which elasticity and capacity for modification as experience might direct were essential features. But this outline of his design would be incomplete without reference to his constant consultation of examining bodies and of other headmasters, still more to his conferences with masters of Preparatory Schools and his effort to bring the entrance examinations of Public Schools into due relation with the work which the Preparatory Schools could best undertake.

Whatever the merit of the design its success had to depend upon the skill and the spirit with which it was worked. It was essential that boys should be led to choose their line because of its real suitability for them and with a real wish to do well in it rather than because they thought it a soft option. Burge's constant habit of holding conferences of the masters; the power which he manifested of throwing himself at a moment's notice into the interests of a master with a quite different subject from his own or that of the last master he had spoken to; and the hours which he bestowed on taking the lessons in many different divisions, high and low, of the school were among the features which seem to have characterised his headmastership. Incidentally it is pleasant to remark, though no doubt this was not peculiar to him, that he kept a keen and sympathetic eye upon that wholly separate school in which the Quiristers (the choir boys of Chapel) have their education.

In the result as seen years later, whether Burge's share or that of other men be greater or less in producing it, Winchester would claim to-day that no boy goes through the school a mere specialist without sufficient breadth of knowledge; that the specialist in science (in which Winchester immediately began to win scholarships at the Universities, as it always had done in mathematics), or in history or it may be modern languages, has as full scope and gets as good teaching there as anywhere; and that, none the less but rather all the more, the classics flourish.

The general life, the spirit, the tone of the school form of course a subject more important than any curriculum, but it relates to things indefinable and an old Wykehamist (none the less if his own time at school chanced to be more full of trial than of enjoyment) would be tempted to be rapturous if he wrote of it. Briefly, however, there may easily be headmasters who are good teachers and good organisers, but who yet have not the gift of appealing to boys' minds, or whom some defect of courage or of sympathy prevents from handling the school well; Burge had certainly the gift of appealing to boys' minds (not only by his sermons but still more by the special addresses, for which he divined the fit occasion, he was felt to exercise a real power); and he had in the highest degree the capacity for handling the school well. Like other schools, Winchester depends very much upon the prefectorial system—a system which has proved its excellence none the less because acute difficulties may occasionally arise in the working of it, and because apparently it is hardly possible to transplant it to America. Winchester, too (though probably here too not alone), abounds in traditional rules which have sprung up among the boys and which gain the sanction of antiquity even when in fact they are new; some are good, more are perfectly trivial, and some are, or were, bad. On these elements in the school life Burge was felt to have set his mark. He had the art of not fighting an abuse but dis-

couraging it so that it died. An odious unwritten law had sprung up by which a boy in one house was in effect forbidden to make friends with a boy in another house. Burge talked to his prefects about it and left them to deal with it as they judged best; it ceased to be. In the same manner he succeeded in completing the reform of one abuse of old days which still rankles in many memories, the excessive curtailment in summer of little boys' leisure by compulsion to field while bigger boys batted at nets.

Here let it be said that, in spite of that curtailment of our liberty, the one thing, for which perhaps more than any other many of us look back with deep gratitude to our school-days, was the time and the space given us for wandering on our own rambles, dreaming our own little dreams, and making our own little mud pies. Has the hand of reform, seeking lavishly to bestow on all ampler opportunities for the training of their particular faculties, left intact this most inestimable feature of the old Winchester education, its spacious freedom? Of Burge it can certainly be said that he felt very strongly the danger of destroying, from a tendency to organise and to regulate and to provide against risks, the reality of freedom and independence in school life. The extreme care taken at some Preparatory Schools to guide every step that a boy takes was a thing which he heartily deplored.

To return to the prefects, it was an object of special care with him to keep in close touch with them. The amount of grit which prefects, some of them illustrious beings in the school, but many of them feeling personally obscure, put into the discharge of their functions must often make a great difference to the school, and will certainly do so to themselves ever after; and Burge, whose perfect freedom from fuss or formalism or sanctimoniousness left him free also from all shyness in making straightforward moral appeals when he chose, would talk to them very plainly about this. One of his prefects at Repton writes how in

talks with him (and with other prefects) and in the customary reports to his parents, he insisted that he must make up his mind to the "hardship" of his position. There used certainly to be one element if not of hardship yet now and then of great difficulty that seemed inherent in a prefect's position. He owed a loyalty to his house-master and a loyalty to his fellows; perhaps neither he nor the other boys nor the master quite understood how the two loyalties should run together. At Winchester, as perhaps elsewhere, it is felt to-day that this on the face of it embarrassing double relationship has come to work in practice with far greater smoothness and ease. And it is difficult not to suspect that at Winchester the cause lay largely in Burge.

But the outstanding feature of his headmastership in all reminiscences that can be gleaned about him was his astonishing knowledge of and astounding care for (if it were possible) every boy. No doubt it depended much upon a talent, given to few, for remembering names and faces, and small personal details therewith, but it depended too on something more. "I shall never forget", writes a friend—full of memories of his own austere and alarming headmaster at another school—"I shall never forget walking across the school field one day—Sunday morning—with him, when he spoke to small boys whose very names I should not have expected him to know, inquiring about intimate details, which were amazing—your pony, your small sister, some home touch, I forget what." School is a great thing; home is a greater thing. Burge, like all the greatest schoolmasters, knew that well, and would not let his boys forget it. It was a lesson, too, which he would have gladly taught, and did when he could, to the sort of parents who think they can leave it to schoolmasters to form their boys' standards.

It might go without saying that he did not suffer from the unhappy inclination, deeply offensive to those under them, of some dons, at Oxford, and now and then at Public

Schools also, to attempt to humanise the relation of teacher and taught by ignoring real distinctions of age and of position in an undignified manner. Nevertheless he treated boys with so genial an ease that it may be asked: was he a good disciplinarian? And perhaps some fear arose at first that in that respect he would not be a strong headmaster. He was by no means so uncritical of other people as he sometimes seemed. In grown-up men and women at any rate he had a keen scent for any sort of insincerity and greatly resented it; in boys and in their elders he judged severely whatever he had come to regard not as weakness but as the deliberate shirking of duty; and the standard of duty and of achievement which he set before friends or pupils was an exacting one. All the same he seemed rather to make a luxury of the charity which "hopeth all things", and—though indeed there is nothing wrong in that—found it easier than most men do to meet in a friendly way people whom in reality he saw through very acutely. It was his weakness—or his strength—throughout life that he did not know the pleasure of correcting or contradicting. It amused masters, and perhaps sometimes it irritated them not a little, when they read the Headmaster's paragraph in the reports sent home about boys, to find that plain admonition about a boy's faults generally ended with the stock conclusion: "but he is a good fellow". It was not, however, any softness of temperament but a firmly fixed principle that made him adhere to the presumption that people are good fellows till the contrary was plain. And no worse service could be done to a boy, whose welfare is the real object, than premature encouragement to his parents to think him a bad fellow. It may be rather a relief to learn that he sometimes did in speech and letters betray some slight ill-temper. The important point, showing that his large charity was of the true kind, is that when he felt himself to be in the presence of real baseness, his anger could impress men as terrible. Perhaps he could be exasperatingly

patient, but it is plain that when a real disciplinary difficulty arose a housemaster who needed his support found that the problem was dealt with not only firmly but thoroughly. The real judges of this question were the boys; and it does not seem that among them, either at Repton or Winchester, there was the least idea that his kindness went along with any slackness at all. Not the less for the love which he inspired did he retain for them that awfulness which in our secret hearts we all desire to find in those who have any authority over us. There is nothing then that need detract from this rare tribute from a man who was once a boy under him: "I was a rebel and difficult to control, and he harnessed me and trusted me, and ever since then I've tried in every job I've been in to treat difficult people as he treated me. If I had been at a different school or with a different headmaster I might have wrecked my life."

After all this, it need scarcely be added that the period which he passed as in a degree the controller of a great school's life was for the man himself made up of "crowded hours of glorious life". Yet, for all this, it is no surprise to learn that to Burge the sort of man who at school had never looked forward to a larger life, and who in after days lingered after the duly vanished glories (or imagined glories) of his boyhood—"the sixty-year old public school boy", as he called him—was of all sorts of men the most offensive and contemptible. And to him the end of those pleasant days, when the work for his hands to do was work that could definitely be done, came before he expected or desired it. In 1910 his eyesight became suddenly impaired; his oculist commanded a rest; and on general grounds of health a longer rest became afterwards necessary. He was absent from Winchester for two terms, from September 1910 to April 1911, travelling to South Africa, where indeed his alert interest in all things political, as well as his joy in scenery and in all "the habitable parts of the earth", kept him happy enough, but where all the time it is

obvious from his letters that he was longing to be back at Winchester. And, as soon as he was back, came the offer of the Bishopric of Southwark, and on the top of it the strong representation of the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, and of Archbishop Davidson that the Church wanted him there. From them he took it that he was wanted. And in spite of deep regrets, of which no sensible person comparing his life before with what it was bound to be after can doubt the sincerity, a clear conviction of duty made him go. It is no disparagement to the high office to which he was called or to the men of whom he was to be the colleague to state that the spirit in which he went was that in which he would have wished one of his boys to give up being "Captain of Lord's" (that is of the Eleven) and go, when wanted, into his father's counting-house.

By the time that he thus entered upon the hardest stage of his life Burge had developed and made proof of more than one kind of uncommon ability, and he was a man whose mental powers upon the whole were to go on growing as long as he lived. But his greatest power lay in a fact which those who knew him well were beginning to recognise and which, later at least, could make itself felt by people whose contact with him was but momentary. Accomplished man of the world as he became, he was none the less growing to be a saint; that at least is the term of praise which came naturally to the lips of men who learnt to know—all the better for the humour that pervaded him—his single-mindedness, his power of constantly dwelling at his own highest level of thought and purpose. This of itself would have endowed him with a force widely felt wherever he went, even without those abilities of subordinate rank which he possessed in abundance.

Beyond the faculty of making and keeping alive real acquaintanceship with innumerable people, he was gifted, as many able men are not, with the agility of mind by which a man can keep on dealing effectively with a great

number and variety of matters of business, and all the while keep alive many interests remote from his business. At his busiest time he seemed always to be at leisure to give his mind to some new call which really was worth his attention.

Plenty of evidence can be found in this volume of the extraordinary range of his reading, but that evidence could easily be added to. All his later life it was his unbroken rule to devote one clear hour each day, even if it had to be at the very end of a tiring day, to reading of a sort that took him right away from his ordinary work. Few important recent books—say about the War, or any noteworthy character or interesting phase of history, or economic questions, or his own more professional studies—seemed to escape his notice, and his knowledge of his favourite poets —Greek poets, Wordsworth, and above all Browning and Dante (the latter always kept open on his desk towards the end)—was kept in constant repair. He must have read extremely quickly, but it was very thorough reading During a time of great strain to him at Southwark he was called upon by a friend who had written a fairly long and terribly condensed history book about a puzzling period. Burge at once engaged in animated and sympathetic talk about his friend's book and its subject, but ended by saying "There was just one thing you said which I was not sure I understood. I was not quite sure what your point was here"—producing the book. The unfortunate author, on the whole a conscientious writer, found himself confronted with the one, the only sentence in his book—an unimportant sentence in a very unimportant part of the book—which had given him some qualms when he wrote it as to what exactly, beyond something that sounded nice, he did mean. Clearly Burge was not a slipshod reader, nor a man with whom what is morally or intellectually slipshod would easily go down.

Rather suddenly, it seems, after he had been a little while at Winchester he began to show a newly found power of

public speech. Somewhat later Winchester people remarked with a little surprise that at a gathering at which great public men, including Mr. Asquith, had been present the best speech really had been that of their own Headmaster; and in speeches on other ceremonial occasions he is described as having kept a rather solemn company rocking with laughter through a sense of the ridiculous, which expressed itself with rare spontaneity and (perhaps none the less for that uncommon merit in speakers) made the deeper realities behind felt all the time. His Chapel sermons, too, were observed to have gained in effectiveness when instead of reading them out he began to deliver them without any notes at all. They were none the less carefully prepared on that account. The compilation of this volume has involved for its editor one keen disappointment, of which the cause is interesting. Burge ultimately became a preacher of rare and elevated eloquence—eloquence which his voice and the dignity that his presence had gained much enhanced, but of which the verbal beauty was the outcome only of sincere and profound thought. There were certain sermons which it was especially desirable to print here if a record of them could be found. Now for many years he kept going a series of neat little notebooks in which at a first glance it seemed every sermon or important speech of his had been set out beforehand in his fluent and graceful writing. In fact the opening sentences, the arrangement of the subject under headings, the main transitions, the concluding words are all there pretty much as he probably delivered them; the only thing that is not there is the whole point, the idea which was chiefly in his mind from the start, but on which, having thus prepared, so to speak, the whole scaffolding of his discourse, he meant, when the moment came, just to let himself go. Something, however, more valuable that his eloquence these little books do make plain. Little as he need have feared to be at a loss on any occasion, he deliberately

and systematically prepared himself beforehand to say the fit thing, helpful to his hearers, even at the most trivial gathering at which he was ever asked to look in.

His health was not really re-established by his long holiday overseas, and before he had been long in Southwark he was to be subjected to a great and prolonged strain. His work never suffered in quality from physical exhaustion, and the curtailments of its amount which were sometimes necessary probably left him most of the time with more to do than most strong men ever do. But, for all his abounding vitality and his real happiness, it was somehow borne in upon him that the remaining years of his life would not be many. Perhaps it made him more determined that those years, few or many, should be full. There is a pleasant fringe of country in Kent and Surrey within the diocese of Southwark; there can even, tucked away in folds of the North Downs, be found in it sequestered villages; but in viewing it from any of the branches of the Southern Railway one might think the greater part of the diocese as sharp a contrast as could be found to Burge's former surroundings at Winchester. It takes in all London south of the Thames; in other words, it takes in its poorest and dingiest quarters, and includes in its population perhaps as great a mass of labour employed on a horribly casual system as exists anywhere in the world. A bishop whose supreme duty is to occupy himself with the problems, the woes, and the occasional misfeasances of struggling clergymen in such a region, must have much that is disheartening to face, and the outward aspect of Rotherhithe or Bermondsey or even the Borough or of Kennington, where the Bishop dwells, is not exhilarating. But, besides having the pastoral instinct strong in him, Burge was certain to find much in this environment that attracted him. No man who had much to do with the people of Southwark during the War can fail to have acquired sentiments of affection for the place, and Burge was before

long brought into relations of friendship with such men as Mr. Gosling and the late Mr. Orbell among the Dockers' leaders and that great gentleman the late Mr. Crooks, the Labour Member for Woolwich, whom he was bound to value. But, not to mention the Oval, close by him if he ever had time to go there, there was another side to his environment. London itself, full of friends of his, was just across the bridges. Amongst others Mr. Asquith, whose sons had been at Winchester, and for whom personally he formed a high regard, was a near neighbour, and he saw him often during troublous but stirring times; and in general he had a nearer view than he had ever had of great affairs and of men with great responsibilities. Moreover, Archbishop Davidson (Bishop not long before of Winchester) and Mrs. Davidson were close by him at Lambeth. Perhaps, indeed, the neighbourhood of Lambeth, that home alike of gracious hospitality and of incomparable friendship, was a little perilous to his heart's ease. For great questions and still greater agitations threatened the peace of the Church, and, which is more, its good work; the fashion grew of asking for clear pronouncements on this, that, or the other point from the Bench of Bishops, who, like other people, differed in opinion among themselves; and the Archbishop was not the man to let Burge's capacity for wise counsel rust unused—possibly that was really the reason why Burge was ever at Southwark at all. Thus in addition to his primary duty as a shepherd of shepherds of the flock, a duty for which he was conspicuously fit, there was also the call upon him to take his part in the counsels of the whole Church. For that, too, it may be that he was conspicuously fit; only, from the nature of the case, he could no longer, as at Winchester, feel it within his power to carry straight away into action large and far-seeing views of his own.

Of his diocesan work there can be little to record. There seems to be but one tale about it. Presumably he never earned the woe denounced upon those of whom all men

speak well; but with a man like the late Bishop Taylor (his Archdeacon, and afterwards his Suffragan), though the two men's opinions might in some ways differ widely, he could form the most tender friendship; from sidesmen in his Cathedral, and from men of every degree and kind it can still be learnt that Burge was loved. And that perhaps is the supreme tribute that can be paid to a Bishop.

Very dark days came upon Southwark in the dock strike of 1912, when for many weeks the docks were kept idle by a dispute which appeared to have arisen out of little or nothing, but which as may often happen seemed none the more easy on that account to bring to a satisfactory end. Shortly afterwards came the four years of the War. Those were years of darkness not to Southwark alone, but the situation in the diocese of the great arsenal at Woolwich brought some special cares to those concerned with the welfare of the community there, and it may be recalled besides that South London, like North London, was more visited by air raids than most places. The course of the War was bound to be fraught with a constant succession of personal sorrows to an old headmaster. Owing more especially to the operation of voluntary service the War, throughout England, took the heaviest toll of the best lives, between certain ages; and it is not to be wondered at that he had to feel the loss of a very high proportion of those for whom he had had the brightest hopes. Of those who had been under him at Winchester, no less than 298—not far short of 1 in 5 of the whole number—fell. The War, of course, brought to Bishops a heavy load of administrative cares, as it did to many other administrators. Above all there are none over whom great political issues going to the root of national and international life brood more heavily than they do over every clear-sighted minister of religion.

It is said that clergymen should not have politics, and in a sense which it does not concern us here to define, it may be true; but in a broad sense it can only be maintained by

denying that a clergyman should be a man, and, if English, then a wise and patriotic Englishman. They need not, any more than most of us, have a liking for party tactics, and of a bishop, as of a big business man, it is true that there are endless questions of practical statesmanship upon which his own special experience of life does not help him to judge. Yet in statesmanship, and indeed sometimes in electioneering, the big spiritual issues that arise are the greatest issues of all. And, what a great political pamphlet[1] once declared to be most necessary for statesmen, "the spacious range of the disinterested imagination", may well be vouchsafed sometimes to the ministers of God's word. Anyway Hubert Murray Burge, if no more strictly bound by party ties than most intelligent Englishmen have been since the War began, was decidedly a political animal; he was so because he steadily looked on life as a whole, and upon all its concerns as the interests of God's family. This, of course, does not mean that he ever dabbled in activities which did not concern him to the detriment of his own sufficiently exacting business; but he kept his mind alive to all the movements of his time. He was the valued friend—(and if the friend he would be made the counsellor)—of men with important parts to play; he was a man, too, with a great power of giving some new direction to the current of younger men's thoughts even in quite slight intercourse with them. Therefore the breadth of his sympathies, his steadfastness in any clear conviction once formed, and his shrewd understanding of persons were influences likely to carry further than he knew or we can tell. Thus at this point some brief but definite statement must be attempted as to his general views and sympathies in matters of state—though the closeness and the quick intelligence with which he followed minor events and controversies during and after the War may be left to pass without illustration.

[1] Wordsworth on the *Convention of Cintra*, re-edited during the War by the late A. V. Dicey.

We may begin with a trifling incident which occurred in the course of the great Dock Strike of 1912. Unlike most labour disputes it was one in which cool outsiders could easily see how it arose; namely, as an impulsive and miscalculated demonstration of sympathy and loyalty to fellow-workers. A single and unimportant firm of employers, acting in opposition to the settled policy of all the rest, was at fault; and thereupon the great Union or group of Unions affected struck blindly against all the employers, of whom the great majority were at the moment their friends. Burge started by reasoning simply that as the men had put themselves clean in the wrong, the only way was for them to go back as soon as possible—eventually they were forced into a simple surrender. But an excited multitude does not often confess to a mistake. And as the miserable business dragged on he published after a while a suggestion of compromise or mediation, which was of no avail. Other Bishops before and since have taken similar action, and drawn on themselves, even from high-minded men who have worked hard for industrial peace, the reproach that they butted into a matter which they did not really understand with the sort of peace-making that in fact delays peace. However much there may be in such criticism, social conflicts do arise in which men, looked up to as divines, may indeed feel it needful to study the ground carefully, but cannot be asked to keep quite silent contentedly. In Burge's case, though the incident in itself is hardly worth recalling, what led him to break silence is significant. Peace is worth the price of some concessions, and the principle that people (mostly ignorant people) who have entered on an unjust quarrel had better receive the lesson of complete and abject failure is not really often a very useful one. Burge had (as he thought) run up against a wooden-headed, disciplinarian attitude on the part of a leading man among the employers who was now out for victory at all costs, and who provoked him sorely. It became a settled habit of thought with him,

when he came across, as in a few years' time he was bound to do, an attitude (which in turn provoked him) of baseless suspicion and insensate bitterness, among industrial employees, small tenants in the north, and others of the poorer people, to ask: how did it ever come about that this ridiculous way of thinking could gain ground among sensible and good-hearted men; was there no contributory fault on the part of the mass of more fortunate men and women? And he would very gladly have impressed this question upon well-to-do and well-educated people generally. He was anything but a revolutionary and anything but an impracticable Socialist, but the thought of something profoundly amiss in our social system, requiring leadership with large vision to seek a remedy, sunk deep into him.

On the clear-cut issues raised by the War his views were clear cut. These were eminently questions on which religious teachers were bound to know their minds and speak them, and he was one of those religious leaders, the most weighty though not the most vocal leaders, whose views, wide and free from illusion at the first, never wavered while the War lasted, or afterwards in regard to the questions which the War and the Peace settlement have raised. He saw an obligation of simple duty in the promise upon a scrap of paper which brought about the actual occasion of our country's entering the War. But, apart from that—with a trained historical judgment constantly directed to seeing what he could of the world then present—he saw in the worship of power and the lust of dominion which had arisen in Germany a menace to all the higher hopes of the world which, when the conflict came, must be resisted at whatever risk and whatever cost. And he was prepared for great risk and great cost. Immunity from nervous anxiety is not quite the same thing as courage, and it should be said that he was among those many to whom the course of the War brought heart-searching anxiety—none the less no doubt for the keenly felt loss of many friends. But it should

be said only for the sake of adding that in him (unlike some of his friends) neither this long-drawn-out anxiety during the War nor the disappointments, as they were to most men, which followed after it ever induced the least doubt whether his country had been right after all, the least hankering after some unreal compromise, the least readiness to sacrifice a great aim because the cost, which should have been counted, was great. And in one respect he was far more clear-sighted than most Englishmen: he never supposed the end of the War, however victorious, would bring to England anything but long years of stress and difficulty, or bring to the world, save after long and troublous further endeavours, a happy and stable condition of peace. The blatant optimism of which much was heard at the close of the War seemed preposterous to him. "The end is not yet", said One whose words he studied.

It follows almost evidently from this that from the moment of victory he was filled with the thought of how out of it all a real condition of general international kindliness might one day grow up. Of course he was like most English people in harbouring no national rancours, desiring indeed that the German people should realise that truly the cause for which they had fought and their rulers and spiritual leaders sinned was a lost cause, but desiring equally that no other overweening military power should step into the vacant place of Germany. And, as the chief English statesmen did, he hoped much of the League of Nations without pinning all his hopes to it. All this so far as it went was common enough. What was uncommon in Burge was to keep in peace time something of that steadfast looking towards a goal possibly far distant and certainly hard to win which to many men had not been difficult in War. And, as will be seen, there came to him after a while a better chance than he may have hoped for of taking a part of consequence in efforts which tend towards the winning of that goal.

Meanwhile his party sympathies underwent a change. He had always called himself a Liberal, but for reasons that may be conjectured since they are not uncommon, his sense that his old party was a vigorous embodiment of any principle for which he cared had vanished. His was a positive mind, more easily drawn towards hopeful experiment than towards criticism and caution. He was thus greatly interested by men that he knew among the younger Conservative politicians who were eagerly alive to social questions of the time and ready in some way to deal with them boldly. On the other hand the disposition of their party towards Protection seemed hopeless and boring to him. With enough knowledge of economics to know that what possibly suited America need not therefore suit England, he was accustomed to gauge with a certain horse-sense the minds of the English people and felt it absurd to press on them what, when it was pressed on similar grounds before, they had decisively rejected. There remained the Labour party. It was, of course, encumbered with obsolete and with half-baked policies of its own. Some even of the leaders in it whose intellect he admired were infected, as he thought, with a wholly indefensible bitterness; and neither aristocratic Radicals nor as a rule academic Socialists interested him much. Nevertheless there were not a few Labour statesmen whose character and whose outlook on life were extremely congenial to him; and, standing in much the same relation of candidly critical sympathy towards the party as himself, there was Lord Haldane, whose friendship, with that of his sister and of their venerable mother, he valued deeply through all his latest years. What, however, weighed with him most was his belief that, taken in the bulk, the Labour Party did possess a vision of great things to be accomplished, which he thought lacking in statesmen whose judgment in minor matters was better trained. At least the Labour Party would all the time regard our fundamental social problems

at home as matters which, even at great cost, something should be done about. At least they were likely to keep the cause of international good-will so ardently in view as to be prepared for risks and sacrifices in its behalf from which others might shrink. That their inexperience might make them fatally careless, when it came to the point, of vital interests economic and national, he did not suppose. It was not his business to manifest himself in public as an adherent of any party, but the powerful influence on a few and the subtle influence on a wider circle which he was bound to exercise were used at a critical time to promote sympathy and a large fair-mindedness towards the Labour Party.

Political interest then was strong in him, as perhaps it must be in any Englishman who is awake to the peculiar spiritual heritage of England. And, while he did not let it fill too large a part in his mind for one whose business was not politics, it was in no sense whatever a mere diversion from his work in his own calling. In truth a large part of his penetrating spiritual influence lay in the fact that for him the distinction, which most men are tempted to draw, between the sacred and the secular just did not exist. All that he himself did, from preaching to making hay at his holiday home in Northumberland or enjoying himself, on a rare leisure evening, with friends young and old at a pantomime, had for him become part of his work and his play as a child of God in God's family; and it did not seem to him normal or rightly to be expected that a man should live his life in any other temper because his business, as a mechanic, a soldier, a banker, an engineer, or a ploughman, was not labelled religious. And when his position in matters concerning the Church is considered it must be kept in mind that the definite line, often conveniently drawn, between Church and State or Nation would not have seemed to him to correspond exactly to the realities of this very subtly complicated world. It would not have

seemed to him tolerable that Christian principle, not formulated in catchwords but truly sought to be understood, should ever be spoken of as irrelevant to international statesmanship or to finance. But equally it would have been impossible to him to assume that an honest man of affairs, grappling with hard realities, might not, whatever his creed, be visited by the same divine light as himself. No healthy movement in national life seemed to him divorced from religion even if its relations to avowed creeds and organised worship might be obscure or unsatisfactory. Abstractedly stated this may not be a position with which any man is likely to quarrel. What is uncommon is the vividness with which Burge saw all this and the extent to which it permeated his thoughts.

The care of his own diocese might have occupied his time very fully and he was not a man who would ever fail to put his heart into it. But he lived at the centre of affairs. Besides his other manifest abilities, he soon attracted notice through that uncommon power of candour and of sympathy which enabled him so to understand the beliefs and aims of very diverse men that he could bring them often into unexpected harmony with one another. Thus he was an admirable chairman, an obviously useful ingredient in any sort of committee or commission, and a man upon whom it was tempting to put, and who himself was tempted to undertake, difficult work because it needed judicious handling, not always because it lay in the direction in which his strongest interests were set. Besides this there were always going on the deliberations of the leaders of the Church of England in which his presence immediately became important, not as the spokesman of a particular cause or party, but simply as a man to whom many colleagues of different ways of thinking always looked for wisdom in debate. The real influence of a man of this type in the matters for which he cared most must evidently be hard to define. But reserving that subject till near the end,

we may now glance at several of the varied labours in which he was led to occupy himself, partly while still at Southwark and partly when he was Bishop of Oxford.

It cannot be imagined that Burge ever lived on any but happy, frank, and respectful terms with Nonconformist Christians, and it is quite needless to turn to any of the distinguished Nonconformist divines who worked near him on the like work for testimony as to this. Much as the formal relations of the Church of England to other bodies of Christian Englishmen and the great question of Reunion must have interested him, he had an eye to the immediately practicable, and he earnestly desired in the first place to bring about community of counsel and a quite like-minded testimony on behalf of Christian righteousness among Christians. To pass by other ways in which his study of social questions made itself useful, the consultations which began between him and his Nonconformist neighbours in Southwark upon social questions led eventually to a Bill dealing with the Liquor Traffic, which was the product of many minds, but of which when he came into the House of Lords it became his chief work in that House to be the advocate. He himself valued that Bill most, not for the possibility which it afforded of the closing of public-houses by local option, but for the impetus to the policy of disinterested management of the drink traffic, which he believed would be its real effect. The details of the measure, especially the financial provisions vital to it which experts had elaborated for him, met with severe criticism, possibly conclusive; and the Bill, though reintroduced after his death by one of his colleagues, has never passed. But, as an effort in this long controversy to bring about greater clearness of vision and therefore greater unity between different social reformers who have really one aim in common, it need not be assumed that his labour went for nothing.

In 1912 Mr. Asquith's Ministry appointed a Royal Commission to consider the means of entrance into and con-

ditions of service in the Civil Service of the country. Burge was made a member of it. Among his colleagues was Mr. Snowden. The Chairman of the Commission, whose ability he learnt greatly to admire, was the late Lord Macdonnell. Burge threw himself into the work of the Commission with all the keenness that became a great schoolmaster who had always viewed his educational work in its due relation to the public service and the life of the whole community. The Report which resulted must not be treated as if it had been his more than that of his fellow-Commissioners. That he set his mark upon it for good may fairly be guessed.

In 1920 came the great Pan-Anglican Conference at Lambeth. Here again the part of one man in a council—in this case a very large one—which did good work is not to be singled out, but Burge has been said to have been one of the two or three English bishops whose personalities impressed themselves most upon their colleagues from overseas. It is perhaps unfortunate that, among all the committees of that body, he was told off for the chairmanship of that which reported on Spiritualism, Christian Science, and Theosophy. The subject, keenly interesting to a large number of men and women, lay a little off the beaten track of professional clerical discussion and was one on which strange varieties and vagaries of opinion might come out. This is possibly why he was chosen for it. The Report on which his Committee of 37 persons agreed is not at all a decisive document. But his concern with one of the subjects raised, the large and uncertain range within which mental and moral conditions may affect the treatment of diseases not specifically mental, did not end here. The Lambeth Conference asked the Archbishop of Canterbury to appoint a committee to examine further the use of spiritual ministrations in healing, and of this committee again Burge was chairman. He and several able medical authorities among his colleagues had much private discussion of the matter and found much common ground;

but this committee too produced an inconclusive report, valuable chiefly as preparing the way for further examination of a matter which is of practical interest to many doctors and many clergymen. There can be no doubt what was Burge's strongest feeling in the matter: Loose ideas bred on half-knowledge about such matters have tempted people to commend piety on the ground of its possible benefits to the bodily health of the pious; Burge felt vehemently that (supposing those benefits to be more extensive than they are) the whole conception of religion is being falsified at the start if men are bidden to seek after God for that.

There remain yet to be mentioned two endeavours of a far-reaching nature of which the initial stages were engaging his closest attention when he died. But this slight sketch of some of his avocations has already passed the time when, none too soon, his labours in Southwark ended. As has already been indicated, he was all the while a man whose physical strength was perceptibly nearing its final breakdown. Work, of the driving sort that comes upon many bishops, when carried on under the conditions of war-time in the streets and lanes of Southwark, of course told upon a delicate man, especially as he was in reality a poor man. There are few people, if any, who could with greater advantage to themselves and to the community spend a much larger income than they have than English bishops without private incomes of their own; and Burge, incapable of sparing expenditure in directions in which it should not be spared, had learnt in his undergraduate days and continued through his time of greatest prosperity to practice, most unobtrusively, strict economy where it pinched himself. There was a strong vein of personal austerity in him; not that it was sad to see, to those who had the chance of noticing it, for it brought with it the capacity for a sort of pleasure which as a rule belongs only to childhood. Upon an occasion when he was Bishop of Oxford and sixty years old a friend gave him a gold watch

and chain, while another chose for him the humbler gift of a really handsome walking-stick the right length for him. Each was the first object of its kind that he had ever had in his life—and he had not dreamt of ever having them. No schoolboy, finding himself for the first time the owner, for his very own, of some manly possession, could have been more simply or entirely delighted. Thus the life which he led, constantly catching buses or trams in sordid streets at late hours on wet nights, with the very frequent distraction of the air-raids on Southwark, was not unreservedly to be pitied; but it told on him. Towards the end of the War, when it seemed probable that, if he chose, a far easier post could be found for him, he earnestly consulted his fellow-workers on the question whether the work of his diocese at that moment would suffer more by the interruption of his leaving, or by his carrying it on as an ill man who could not do nearly as much as he would. Their verdict can be guessed.

Now and then, in letters or in visits to friends with whom he could let himself go, he would give vent to moods of depression about his work. He would declare that he was not meant to be a bishop, or not fit to be one. The humility implied was not wholly ironical, but he did feel and say frankly that he had much to do with people whose attitude both saddened and angered him. Such people, he said, seemed to care little for what to him was most important, but to be absorbed in controversy and propaganda concerning just what he thought unimportant. This expressed a strong conviction to which we must shortly return, and of which the deep traces will be found throughout this volume. But in candour the vexation with which he expressed it, though in passing moods not to be taken too seriously, does demand a word. It may be wondered which part of the double burden borne by a bishop was the more apt thus to gall him. And his friends would say that the pastoral oversight of his diocese, the time and labour spent among

his own clergy, many of whom belonged to a school other than his, exacted of him a loving patience which he would enjoy bestowing. But what irked him little in men plunged in the cares of their parishes irked him considerably when he met it in the more solemn conclaves and confabulations of his brother dignitaries of the Church. How heartily he liked many of his brethren, and respected those one or two whose outlook differed most from his, happily needs no saying at all. But if his speeches were valued in their debates, it is not that he enjoyed having to make them. Perhaps he was unduly impatient of the recurring discussions which a slow-moving crisis of Church history made inevitable. Brief speeches were uncommon in them; repetition of what had repeatedly been said was common and did not advance matters. At times when some protagonist in these debates was enforcing views to which he had committed himself as an advocate, Burge felt wistfully that he was not hearing the spontaneous accents of the real human soul that he would have liked to know. He probably never seemed out of it, but he was apt to feel out of it, and to feel with a good deal of weariness that he was accomplishing nothing. What he was trying to accomplish was perhaps not at first plain for all men to see. Looking back it is hard not to guess that he accomplished far more than he knew.

Life was not all work and no play. Before and after the War there was an occasional week or two in Italy. Then there was his holiday haunt at Hepple, near Rothbury, in Northumberland, and a little later the still better beloved home which he made a few miles further north at an old farm-house called Blue Mill, between the Simonside Hills and the Cheviots. The letters in this book will tell what these things meant to him. Normally, perhaps, and in his case emphatically, the delight in natural beauty is a thing that becomes keener with age, and he did not live to grow less eager to be stirring in the open air. And then in the summer of 1919 came a change that he had never expected.

may be none the worse because they are mainly inconspicuous. Spiritual pastors as well as statesmen have their share in determining the temper in the relations between countries from which either war or co-operation for the common good may spring. And Burge became convinced by actual experience that (much as now happens between statesmen) personal intercourse and exchange of their own thoughts, between men who largely guide the thoughts of others in different lands, helps them all.

It remains to record one enterprise which was intensely congenial to him, and which indicates the direction of his striving in all controversies of the Church. It was mainly due to talks in Burge's garden between divines of conflicting schools in the Church of England whom he had invited, as the spider to his parlour, to Cuddesdon, that in 1923 the Archbishops appointed a Commission on Doctrine, with him as its first chairman, and with the other members (mainly, it seems, through his contriving), for the most part not old and already in high position but young enough to hope to see the work through. The memorandum which he wrote to guide discussion on the first subject that arose is here published, but the purpose and hopes of the Commission and Burge's service to it can be best told by the colleague who succeeded him in the chair, the present Archbishop of York. Dr. Temple writes:

Bishop Burge and the Doctrinal Commission

I do not know whether Bishop Burge was the actual author of the plan to set up a Commission to explore the differences of doctrine held within the Church of England with a view to ascertaining how far these represent differences of emphasis, differences of intellectual background, or real differences of meaning; but he was from the first keenly in favour of it, and it was he who brought the definite proposal before the Bishops.

When the two Archbishops (Davidson and Lang), after hearing the discussion of the project among the Bishops, decided

to establish the Commission, it was inevitable that he should be appointed as its Chairman. He had sympathy both emotional and intellectual of astonishing range and width. When he summarised a statement put forward by anyone of whatever school of thought, his summary was always accepted as fair and accurate. The only person whom I have known to equal him in this respect was the late Lord Balfour. It was interesting to note how readily the most divergent groups would try to secure him as their spokesman. On one occasion a Conference of the Modern Churchmen's Union, held at Girton College, Cambridge, caused serious alarm in more conservative quarters. A petition expressive of this alarm was prepared for presentation to the Convocation of Canterbury; an answering petition was prepared by leading Modern Churchmen; and both groups elected Bishop Burge to present their petitions, as being the Bishop who could be most completely trusted to represent them fairly. Thus he was able in the most remarkable degree to interpret people to one another.

This was not because his own mind was uncertain. He had quite definite convictions of his own. But even in relation to those with whom he disagreed, he always saw, not only what their real thought was, but why they cared about it. He was never content, indeed he was hardly interested, to refute an opponent. He always looked out for the centre of spiritual concern in the opponent's views, and on most if not all occasions he would find a way of making room for this in his own statement of the truth as he saw it.

Such a quality of mind was an invaluable asset in the first Chairman of the Doctrinal Commission. The spirit in which he desired that it should work is well illustrated by his Memorandum on the Doctrine of the Trinity.[1] The work was to be based on thorough scholarship, but conducted with a desire to understand and appreciate the spiritual core of every position seriously held by sincere and competent Christian thinkers. He would not hear of hurry. He was convinced that if any good result was to come, it would only be because the Commission genuinely took all the time it needed. There were only two full

[1] See p. 195.

may be none the worse because they are mainly inconspicuous. Spiritual pastors as well as statesmen have their share in determining the temper in the relations between countries from which either war or co-operation for the common good may spring. And Burge became convinced by actual experience that (much as now happens between statesmen) personal intercourse and exchange of their own thoughts, between men who largely guide the thoughts of others in different lands, helps them all.

It remains to record one enterprise which was intensely congenial to him, and which indicates the direction of his striving in all controversies of the Church. It was mainly due to talks in Burge's garden between divines of conflicting schools in the Church of England whom he had invited, as the spider to his parlour, to Cuddesdon, that in 1923 the Archbishops appointed a Commission on Doctrine, with him as its first chairman, and with the other members (mainly, it seems, through his contriving), for the most part not old and already in high position but young enough to hope to see the work through. The memorandum which he wrote to guide discussion on the first subject that arose is here published, but the purpose and hopes of the Commission and Burge's service to it can be best told by the colleague who succeeded him in the chair, the present Archbishop of York. Dr. Temple writes:

Bishop Burge and the Doctrinal Commission

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[*To face p.* 57

ERRATUM

The Memorandum, here referred to, on 'The Doctrine of the Trinity', proves to be by the Rev. E. J. Bicknell, D.D. (See slip facing page 195.)

to establish the Commission, it was inevitable that he should be appointed as its Chairman. He had sympathy both emotional and intellectual of astonishing range and width. When he summarised a statement put forward by anyone of whatever school of thought, his summary was always accepted as fair and accurate. The only person whom I have known to equal him in this respect was the late Lord Balfour. It was interesting to note how readily the most divergent groups would try to secure him as their spokesman. On one occasion a Conference of the Modern Churchmen's Union, held at Girton College, Cambridge, caused serious alarm in more conservative quarters. A petition expressive of this alarm was prepared for presentation to the Convocation of Canterbury; an answering petition was prepared by leading Modern Churchmen; and both groups elected Bishop Burge to present their petitions, as being the Bishop who could be most completely trusted to represent them fairly. Thus he was able in the most remarkable degree to interpret people to one another.

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[1] See p. 195.

sessions held under his Chairmanship; but they were probably the most critical of all. For he was able to weld that gathering of most diversely minded persons into a group of friends, who could be perfectly frank with one another, perfectly candid in expression of their own views, consciously united alike in spiritual allegiance and in disinterested endeavour to find and declare truth. It is very doubtful if any one else could have done this. He could, and did. If the Commission is ultimately found to have done good service for the Church, the credit will be very largely his. W. E.

Plainly the fact that the writer of the above words now carries on Burge's work warrants some confidence that the Commission will "ultimately be found to have done good service for the Church".

The writings by Burge that follow in this book begin with three papers written comparatively early for small societies. The first of these may claim the special attention of some readers; written not very long after his ordination, it perhaps makes plainer than anything else that he ever said the temper and tone of thought in which he entered the ministry of the Church and which governed him ever after where Church affairs were concerned. Then follows the greater part of an episcopal Charge which he delivered in Southwark during the War. The passages omitted from it and the two Charges which he delivered in the diocese of Oxford relate too much to local circumstances and to the occasion when they were delivered to be fitly republished now; but they cannot be omitted without regret, for it is precisely in his handling of the technical, the trivial, the merely parochial that the spirit which was in Burge shone. Then come the four sermons of his of which alone any good report is to hand. Three are, in a way, very simple, and in no way concerned with matters of current controversy; such, it may be respectfully submitted, are the sermons which lay folk on a Sunday go to church hoping to hear. The last is very different, and without

doubt must rank as a very remarkable utterance indeed. It is addressed to clergymen gathered together, in part at least, in virtue of their common participation in views which were not his. If his manner of approach therein to the views that were not his be understood and appreciated by many, the publication of this volume will have gone far to achieve its purpose. His preaching of that sermon has been said by one of the best judges of such matters to have been an act of great courage. Doubtless it was so, but to the band of clergymen who, well knowing his attitude towards them, invited him to deliver it a hardly less high tribute is due. The paper next printed, which has been mentioned already, is theological in the technical sense; nevertheless some of those readers who will not be tempted far into it may find it well worth while to read and to weigh the purport of its opening paragraphs. It seems appropriate to follow this immediately with some little discourses addressed to a very different audience, devotional in their character and revealing the heart of the man. The letters, with which the volume closes, in their very different way reveal him no less truly.

But one available paper among his very latest writings is not included with the rest. It is an article upon Reunion. It is a strong plea against haste—or perhaps it should be said for patience. It urges strongly the evil and the danger of any short cut to union through compromises which are not real agreements—declarations or regulations sincerely accepted by one party in one sense and as sincerely by the other party in another. It dwells upon the reality of the underlying union which is there between Anglican and Nonconformist when they work for righteous public causes or join in the great task of Christian study, and it ends with the bold expression of a doubt whether external union be so great an object after all. "After our time", Burge concludes, "if we have done our work well, our successors will be in a better position to decide the question which after

all is the most fundamental of all, namely—Are we or are we not mistaken in trying to represent a Spiritual Fellowship of all Christians in terms of a highly organised Visible Church?" The project of reunion, then beginning to form itself in South India, was before him, and is to some extent discussed; but the matured proposals and the considered reasons for them were not before him; and most certainly that indifference which he plainly declares to the externals of Christian Fellowship expresses his considered judgment on the problem existing for Englishmen in England, and on no other problem. It would have been in keeping with his conduct in other matters if, knowing that the considerations which he urged had been faced in South India, he had based his final judgment as to the concrete proposals for Reunion there upon wholly different considerations from these. One man after another who knew his mind on such things well has said with assurance that he would have done so. The editor does not know. Anyone who cares to see what he then thought can find it in the *Contemporary Review* for June 1925. But there would manifestly be something misleading and unfair to him in republishing it here and at this moment.

And now can anything clear be said as to Burge's teaching in general, except, indeed, that he preached well some simple truths in which all Christian men concur? Having great abilities and the reputation of great wisdom, did he when he took part in the perplexed deliberations of the Church of England carry the discussion forward some little way at least towards a conclusion, or did he merely envelope it while he was there in roseate clouds of good feeling? Perpetually in the midst of eager controversies, did he himself uphold any standard?

The answer to this may be found to be a simple one. But there are certainly those whom this question about him has puzzled, and there is first a little more to be said as to the temper of his mind and as to some convictions which had

sunk very deep into him. Some controversies must here be touched upon in which the writer, unlike Burge, is plainly not qualified to understand the true mind of the disputants.

It must be remarked first that all who knew Burge well ended by thinking him a greater man than they had at first imagined; and all felt, too, that Burge to the end of his life was growing.

He was on the one hand a man of greater practical capacity than showed itself at the first glance. No organisation that was ever under his control went to pieces. At Winchester he can be seen on looking back to have carried out great changes in entire accordance with his own deliberate design; yet many people at the time did not feel that he asserted himself much.

On the other hand this practical man was apt to have his eyes fixed on far distant aims, and if he succeeded did so because he cared less to succeed than to serve. To a woman undergoing serious trials and perplexed as to what to live for, he once wrote: "If the path *is* worth treading, don't, for God's sake, believe for a moment that it ceases to exist for you. ''Tis not what man does that exalts him, 'tis what man *would* do'—and so all the best part of dear Browning's Saul. . . . Bother transition periods of life! It's all a transition and some day we shall know what it all really meant, but you have to wait for the oak tree before you can understand what the acorn meant." Such a man will have great faith in the efficacy of slow-working causes, he will sometimes be content to be puzzled for long, and he will patiently put up with some passing things that might seem intolerable. He is bound often to appear indecisive when he is not.

Undecided in action, or afraid to take a side when concrete issues presented themselves to be dealt with promptly, he certainly was not. In politics where taking a side is a constant necessity, he had less difficulty than most thoughtful men, outside Parliamentary life, in doing so.

And, if it were well to recall, even a few years after they have happened, instances in which the clash of opinions in the Church has resulted in some question of justice or injustice to an individual, it would be easy to show how ready he was to take marked action, whether any body agreed with him or not, if only he himself judged that the occasion to do so had arisen. In Convocation his resolution to stand for the comprehensiveness of the Church and his consequent hostility to declarations and definitions intended for the defence of the faith or the reassurance of nervous people were made known from the early years of his episcopate—conspicuously so at one crisis when only two other bishops, Dr. Percival of Hereford and Dr. Hicks of Lincoln, were with him. If then there were plenty of occasions when he surprised people by unwillingness to take part actively with one side or another in a controversy, the reason is not be be looked for in timidity or wavering on his part.

There are many disputes towards which there is another attitude proper to a man than partisanship either way; it is that of simple insistence that the dispute ought not to exist; but it is an attitude which is not readily understood. Burge was very conscious of the uncertainty for the present of some questions on which people are in haste to take sides; he was, if possible, yet more conscious of the relative unimportance of many points for which men gladly contend. And with him this belief in the uncertainty of some things and the unimportance of others was a very positive conviction intimately linked with the very core of his faith. Even at the risk of dullness this needs some insistence and amplification.

If we should ask why Burge was a Christian, and a Christian in the orthodox and historic sense, the answer would appear upon the face of more than one discourse in this book. In the whole-hearted following of Jesus Christ he found light to his steps and the peace, which is strength, to

his soul. In the further following of him he felt confident of finding, whenever his steps required it, more light. "If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine".

A man like Burge, who has attained such a conviction by the experiment of discipleship, may be observed to hold it with peculiar assurance. Other knowledge which may come to him through discoveries or through philosophy, may illuminate it, may enlarge it, may sift and test its quality. But they are not really needed to confirm it. And in the end they are plainly powerless to destroy it. Thus one marked element in Burge's views on Church questions can easily be understood and placed in its proper setting. Criticism freely exercising itself on the New Testament and many another matter, might produce results which were for a moment startling, and might indulge in not a few erratic and transitory conjectures, but he was incapable himself of getting into what he called a "panic" about it, and it amazed him when other people did so. For himself he expected nothing from it in the end but fresh lights now and then thrown on the glory of Jesus Christ's life and on the meaning of His words.

It is natural to call such a faith as his simple and in a sense, of course, so it is. Really simple men may hold it truly; "the wayfaring men though fools shall not err therein". But Burge was not at all a simple man unless that means only humble and sincere. He was a man of very active intellect. And to the man, simple or otherwise, who does truly hold these few tenets in which the staple of Burge's preaching might be summed, their implications are not simple at all, neither their full practical implications as to human duty, nor those doctrinal implications which (if the doctrine be more than mere words) are bound up quite inextricably with man's bearing in daily life; they are on the contrary inexhaustible, demanding the perpetual wish to learn.

All this is trite. But at this point comes in that which was

singular in Burge. It was the intensity of his conviction of some plain consequences of this thought, and the permeation of his whole intellect by them. The way of inquiry for a Christian who desired, as Christians must, to know more was not easy, nor was it along any easy way that Christ had invited men to tread either in the discharge of common duty or in the perfecting of their worship. Therefore when people wanted quick and final answers, yes or no, on some debated question of religion, they sometimes, it must be confessed, provoked him to actual scorn. A stock remark of his was to this effect: "People are always asking for 'a plain answer to a plain question', it is the one thing, as far as I can see, that Christ would never give." Truth, he held, must be sought with great patience, with great humility, with perpetual readiness to learn again better what one has already learnt imperfectly. Above all it must be sought in absolute sincerity from the sheer love of God and desire to be taught of him. So, on the one hand, impatience to reach results, the assumption that the whole truth is with oneself, eager acceptance of cut and dried systems, readiness to repeat as a catchword something of which one has not humbly mastered the meaning, and above all the whole spirit in which men allow themselves to troop together in doctrinal parties, these things were to him deplorable. They are so, no doubt, to many men who in other ways do not share his views. The point in regard to him is that in him this was a dominant trait. But on the other hand—and here again of course the thought was not peculiar to him but the intense conviction of it was—he believed with all his heart in the slow arriving but sound settlement which in God's good time would be brought to questions which perplex the Church, if humble men with different preconceptions, but in loyalty to this common master, set themselves to the thorough and candid study of such questions in all possible concert with one another.

There is nothing abstruse in this statement of his position

and it need not be laboured further. There is bound to be something unsatisfactory in one man's statement of another man's opinions. This is offered for what it is worth, in the hope that though in many ways ill put it may serve as a rough and ready clue to some part of the wisdom that is to be found in Burge's own words. If any man will fairly consider the progress in many ways made within very recent memory, for instance, the candour and the charity, almost unexampled in Church history with which the long discussion of the Prayer Book (journalistically styled "bitter") was conducted, he will not indeed suppose that Burge was alone in his striving, but he will suspect that in the thing which he strove for, he was labouring not in vain.

But a little more must perhaps be added about his attitude towards different parties in the Church. It would follow from what has already been said that in a sense he might have been called a Modernist. At least he very heartily admired some men who would so call themselves. Doubtless, too, there are many opinions specially associated with Modernism which he held. If so, however, far from striving or trying to promote such opinions, he was content if they were not proscribed or called disloyal, and otherwise said little about them. He would have regarded many points, which Modernists often think important, as very unimportant indeed in their bearing upon the truth which he held most certain and most dear. To his keen historical sense and his real insight into men the whole idea of setting up Modernism and Traditionalism as two distinct and opposing entities must have seemed full of fallacy; and the project of drafting some new creed just now cannot have seemed to him hopeful. Nor probably did his view of the characteristics of English people lead him to think that the hope of drawing them more generally towards the Church depended much upon the discussion and recantation of any traditional errors.

In this there is perhaps something conjectural, but his

attitude towards that far more powerful party among the clergy, the Anglo-Catholics, is quite plain. In some respects it was that of perfectly frank disagreement. The fundamental difference lay perhaps in this: that he did not look anywhere on earth for an authority that was literally final; held very strongly a conception of truth rather as a growing system of apprehension necessarily liable to some modifications as it grew, than as a series of accurately worded propositions; had not the faintest repining at the fact that "now we know in part". But he was disposed to be troubled less about the points of belief or practice in which the Anglo-Catholic movement definitely seemed to him mistaken than about its tendency to magnify in men's minds theories which, true or false, and observances which, good or bad, were secondary matters in comparison with the love of God and Christ. Certainly the great influence of this movement among the clergy did trouble him seriously; for he thought that some of its characteristics were no less repugnant to that prevailing instinct of Englishmen, in which he trusted greatly, than to his own feelings, and he attributed largely to this cause the alienation from the Church which he found common among earnest young Englishmen.

Feeling this, why did he in no way signalise himself among the declared opponents or hostile critics of this school? Because with all his heart he believed that his own views on one side about the matters in dispute were, like theirs on the other, unimportant when set beside that which they had in common; and believed that the coherence and strength of the movement were really due to the longing of earnest men engaged in it to learn of Christ more fully and to follow him better. In any such case, not from addiction to the line of least resistance, but with resolved repression of irritations which he often felt, he would act upon the conviction that appreciation and encouragement of what was good must govern criticism and the endeavour to correct. And so, without pretending

to agree where he disagreed, and with perfect candour, he was wont to show his friendship in large ways and sometimes in small. He was much too scrupulous to accept the offer, made to him by his Cathedral clergy when he first became a bishop, of a mitre, because he felt that his wearing it on certain occasions would have a significance for those who gave it which it had not for him. But when he preached in a church where the ceremonial was very elaborate and it was desired that he should wear very peculiar attire it troubled him nothing to put on such attire. This is significant of his whole attitude. Further as to that attitude his own sermon "Ad Clerum" may be left to speak. The tale of his pastorate, where it specially concerned the clergy, is not one of strife. Nothing but insincerity provoked him to real antagonism. The mind of Christ, he would insist, was positive not negative; and whatever power he had to influence his fellow-men could be better used to strengthen what was good than to root out evil.

Meanwhile he had acquired that peculiarly sure hold upon the attention and the confidence of lay people, the sources of which are hard to analyse. His width of view and manifest thoroughness of thought doubtless contributed to it, but it can hardly be secured except by one who has succeeded to a rare degree in making his religion real, so that the man's inmost heart and mind are felt to be expressing themselves naturally in his dealings large or small, in his speeches solemn or trivial, and in his very laughter.

His latter days were crowned with not a little happiness. When he went to the see of Oxford his former joy of living revived, and his friends hoped, though probably he did not, that many years were before him. But his health had not really become stronger, though the tone of his mind had been refreshed. What seemed a slight illness—one of many—came upon him early in June 1925. Just before this

the King had conferred on him the honour of K.C.V.O., and the announcement of it gave him all that pleasure which his great sense of loyalty made natural; but he did not live to receive his insignia. Suddenly as it seemed, at the age of 63, on the 10th of June 1925, he died. And there can have been few pastors in our day whose death caused the hearts of so large and varied a multitude of men and women to ache. Truly, "as his outward man perished his inward man had been renewed day by day". If it be asked again what standard he upheld in the Church, the answer is short: he upheld the standard round which alone he deemed it lawful for Christian men to rally at all. He had been a great schoolmaster in his own quiet but original way, and the steadily ripening qualities which he then showed made him no less surely, though in a field where results are harder to measure, a great bishop and divine. Yet he would rather have had the good report of these innumerable people to whom he had been at pains to do kindness, and who would simply testify that

> Criste's lore, and his Apostles Twelve
> He taught and first he folwed it himselve.

DISCOURSES AND LETTERS OF HUBERT MURRAY BURGE

RELIGIOUS LIFE AT THE UNIVERSITY

Paper read at a Meeting of Schoolmasters at Cambridge, January 1899.

No one who is interested in Education can be reminded too often of the significant development, which this century has witnessed, in the attitude of the English people towards Religion. That development may be summed up in the phrase—the Abolition of Religious Restriction. To some minds, and at first sight, the meaning of this development seems to be a gradual but distinct assertion of the principle that religious beliefs, creeds, and habits are purely personal, affecting only the individual, and are no concern of the community as a whole when it is either passing laws or laying down rules to regulate the well-being of the State: baldly stated, it matters not what a person believes or does in the exercise of his religious beliefs, so long as he is a good citizen in the sense accepted by the State. Upon what I cannot help thinking a less shallow and artificial view of the community as representing all the strongest instincts and the highest aspirations of human life, the Abolition of Religious Restriction would mean rather an effort to distinguish between Religion and the forms in which religious feeling expresses itself: it recognises that the more complex the conditions of life become, the more varied will be the expression of the religious instincts of society; it believes that fundamentally the instinct—the goal of endeavour—is the same; it desires not to trammel and limit the idea of God, but to liberate and enlighten the human mind and heart in its effort to attain it. In the controversy which rages in one field of our educational system—in the question, I mean, of denominational teaching in our Elementary

Schools—one point is gradually and steadily emerging: the English people will not, I believe, be content to banish religion from its system of national education, but is anxious rather to find a system which shall cherish religious instincts and instil religious truths common to all the forms under which genuine religious feeling is seen.

Let us now ask, What is the meaning of this development in the life of our Universities? How does the abolition of religious restriction affect our idea of a University—its function, its purpose, its unity? First then, obviously, it has made the University catholic: the doors of our University are open to all men, no matter what be their race, their creed, their origin. When we speak, therefore, of religious life at the University, we cannot mean primarily the life of those who are members of the Church of England, those who are Romanists, or Unitarians, any more than we could mean the life of those who are Hindus.

Secondly, it means that in the routine of University life religious exercises are no longer, on the whole, matters of College discipline, in the technical sense of the term, but are entirely voluntary; if a man comes to worship in his College chapel he does so for other reasons than because it enables him to get a degree.

As places of education then—I would go further and say as places of religious education—our Universities deliberately purpose to offer to all men alike the opportunities for intellectual enlightenment; whether they are men of great intellectual ability or of limited endowment, the object with one and all is the same; to make them think and reason, and act for themselves, form habits and principles of their own, become serious—to take men as they come to the Universities, with just so much intelligence awakened, just so much character formed, and to help them and encourage them to apply the best that they have learnt to the conditions of a more responsible life.

The difficulty which all *Churchmen* naturally feel under

the changed atmosphere of University life is how to adjust to the heterogeneous society in which they now live their own position and aims, the teaching of what they hold to be most important to themselves, guidance in the direction which they themselves deem to be best; but I am convinced that the difficulty will not be solved by confusing churchmanship with religious life at the University: under the circumstances, and to the University as a University, religious life means the serious application of men's powers to their plain immediate duties: with most undergraduates the immediate duty—the purpose for which they are there at all—is to work hard and to make the wisest use of their time; with some men the purpose is much rather to gain all the good they can from the social intercourse and life of the place; for most resident graduates—whose duties lie most immediately towards the men in their College—the first duty is to maintain high ideals of work and to do what they can to base social intercourse upon self-respect and respect for others, to think out scrupulously and test the nature and reasons of their faith in these ideals, and to bring into the play of a practical and consistent life the principles which they hold.

Religious life at the University may possibly have or come to have a much wider meaning still; its meaning at any rate is nothing narrower, if the University as one of the most important elements of national life—as an institution, complex and yet a unity—is to be a place of learning and religious education.

I am quite aware of the very great risks involved in giving what might seem a too liberal meaning to religion, and in allowing too much freedom in the exercise of religion to a community of young men, who for the most part are, in fact, boys rather than men. They come to the Universities at a time of life when they are most impressionable, most emotional, under conditions when they are most liable to be careless and irresponsible, and most easily attracted by

false and conventional standards of right and wrong. But these great risks are the great opportunities—the great opportunities to the educators to be elastic, sympathetic, large hearted; they throw upon the educators the responsibility not of devising some rigid scheme of religious discipline, but of generously sympathising with every true instinct of their younger brothers, of gaining above all the genuine respect of all—the pious, the indifferent, the clever, the stupid—by showing the clear example of a consistent life with a high ideal. Again, it is the golden opportunity of correcting to some extent the tyranny of our competitive system; we are much too apt to suppose that every man has reached exactly the same stage of growth at the same age; in a system of competitive examination this appears to be a necessary evil, but we are much too liable to apply this principle to character, in our efforts to supply the spiritual needs of those who are just on the threshold of manhood.

> There is a day in Spring
> When under all the earth the secret germs
> Begin to stir and glow before they bud;
> The wealth and pomps of festal midsummer
> Lie in the heart of that inglorious day
> Which no man names with blessing, tho' its work
> Is blest by all the world.

The special danger in the path of us who are here present is the danger of allowing not too much but too little liberty of growth. It is an old story, told for us vividly by the old English chronicler and disciple of Anselm. "An abbot was one day deploring to Anselm the impossibility of making any impression on the boys brought up in his monastery. 'What are we to do with them?' he asks in despair. 'Do what we will they are incorrigible and perverse; we do not cease beating them day and night; and they only get worse.'

"'And you don't cease beating them?' said Anselm. 'What do they turn into when they grow up?'

" 'They turn only dull and brutal,' was the reply.

" 'Well, you have bad luck in the pains you spend on their training,' said Anselm, 'if you can only turn them into beasts.'

" 'But what are we to do then?' said the abbot: 'in every kind of way we constrain them to improve and it is of no use.'

" '*Constrain* them!' cried Anselm: 'tell me, my lord abbot, if you planted a tree in your garden and tied it up all on sides, so that it could not stretch forth its branches, what sort of tree would it turn out, when after some years you gave it room to spread? Would it not be good for nothing, full of tangled and crooked boughs? And whose fault would this be but yours, who had put forth such constraint upon it? And this is just what you do with your boys. You plant them in the garden of the Church, that they may grow and bear fruit to God. But you cramp them round to such a degree with terrors and threats and blows, that they are utterly debarred from the enjoyment of any freedom." And then he goes on to speak of forbearance and sympathy and good example as the true means of religious education.

But if it is said that I minimise the risks and evils of a liberal system, I would point out the symptoms of healthy growth which it has produced. Old Oxford and Cambridge men are often struck with the improvement of general tone in undergraduate life—the better feeling against drinking, gambling, and immorality; and with this a more active spirit in religious habits, which is all the more significant under a voluntary system where to form a religious habit implies a real demand upon a man's courage and character; the gradual and definite shaping of the idea that worship in the College chapel is the deliberate expression of the higher instincts of the community; and, further, the formation of religious societies and guilds amongst undergraduates not necessarily of one party, not representing views all of one colour, whose value lies just as

much in being centres of thought and opinion, which must be reckoned with and respected, as in giving real spiritual help to the individual members. To give point and illustration, I may quote here one instance of a College society, which may be taken as a type, and of its kind so far as I know the most successful type of not a few others to be found in Oxford: In St. John's College there exists an Undergraduates' Guild founded some twelve years ago. Its objects will be understood from its rules: to attend meetings, to say daily the Collect for St. John Baptist's Day, to use the opportunities for worship in Chapel as much as possible. There are two devotional meetings a term, at which a short address is given by some clergyman, chosen by the Guild, and a short office of prayer is said. The meeting lasts from 8 to 8.30. Once a term there is "an open meeting" at which someone reads a paper, or a missionary speaks or the like. At *this* meeting there is discussion. Twice a term the members of the Guild are asked to communicate together in Chapel. The Guild has never been a party thing; it contains very strong advocates of the opposite extremes; those who are chosen to address it are men of widely different views. It numbers generally from twenty to thirty, and, containing some of the most popular and influential men in the College, exercises considerable force.

It would be easy again to dwell upon the increasing interest shown by undergraduates in philanthropical and humanitarian work, which I think is a happy and serious application of the prevailing *esprit de corps* to high objects.

I can speak again of the ready response given by men to invitations to lectures and discussions; the audiences that used to gather in Christ Church Hall to listen to Canon Liddon and Bishop King; the meetings held by Professor Sanday; societies like the Society of Historical Theology; or the smaller or less formal gatherings in the rooms of a College don; and for my part I am inclined to regard these

as the most valuable helps of all in supplying the spiritual needs of undergraduates, just because they emphasise the necessity of basing religious life and feelings upon intellectual effort, because they temper emotion with reasoning and serious thought.

But we are bound at the same time to recognise clearly the meaning and scope of these activities and agencies; they are invaluable as helps, but they will of necessity, under the altered conditions of University life, appeal only to a minority, potent it may be and exercising an increasing influence upon the tone of the whole community, but still a minority. Nor are we justified in calling the majority careless and irreligious because these agencies do not appeal to them; the after-history of many a man, who at Oxford seemed to care for none of these things, shows plainly enough that he was not necessarily, therefore, bowing the knee to Baal. With the great majority we must not be dissatisfied if they learn to work hard, to become serious, self-respecting men, quietly and unconsciously receptive of the good influences and good examples about them, gathering material out of which they will form strong characters and worthy habits.

I see in the zeal we have for our own cause, in the desire to produce immediate results, two very real dangers. First, the danger of forgetting that the paramount influence with any man before he has gone out into the world—nay, with most men *the* influence upon his whole lifetime—is the influence of his home. If one hopes to educate or to interest a pupil, surely the most certain aid in discovering the bent of his mind, the best line to take with him, is to discover first what sort of a home he comes from; what his parents do, what they read, what they are interested in. More certain still is the aid which such a method supplies in showing the surest means of appealing to his higher feelings. And I say there is a *danger* in forgetting this, because to do so is to encourage and foster that extremely pernicious and

artificial break which is made between the home life and the College life. It is pernicious to parents, because it encourages them to shirk their own responsibilities exactly in the sphere where they and they alone are most effective. I can never forget the impression made upon me by an interview with a parent whose son was to come to my own College. I do not doubt that many here have experienced the same shock. After many questions, he at last asked me what safeguards there were for his son; he told me he had let his son always do much as he liked, he had trusted to the discipline of school life at Eton to keep the son straight. "What means", he asked me, "have you for regulating the life of undergraduates against immorality and drunkenness?" I told him of proctors, deans, college rules, University authorities, and the like; but I said the real thing we rely upon is the standard which has been set before a boy in his own home. He replied actually that that had never occurred to him before. Again this artificial break is pernicious to the undergraduates. How comes it, we are compelled again and again to ask, that an undergraduate will do and say things in Oxford in November which he would not dream of doing or saying at home in September? Only, I believe, because he is led to fancy that he is one man at home, living under one standard of life, and quite another at College. The conventions and fashions of University life are many of them paralysing and worthless and yet treated with something akin to awe, simply because it is taken for granted that a man may split up his life into parts, and is expected, almost, to do in one part what he would not do in another. It is true enough that our system of gregarious education presents many unique difficulties, exceptional circumstances, perplexing problems; all the more urgent, therefore, is the necessity that lies upon parents to prepare the way for them,to instil principles which are continuously applicable. And the second danger which I see in our zeal to promote our own form of religious life, and to inculcate

our own religious habits, is the danger of what I may call professionalism. There is a strong tendency—a tendency if wisely controlled which must be eagerly welcomed—to provide for the outward form of religious life in a College by the election of a clerical Fellow for that specific purpose. Of the difficulties which they have for that reason to encounter, the wisdom and tact and sympathy which they show in surmounting them, I should be glad enough, though it is not my purpose now, to speak at length. But I see in this tendency a very real danger; a danger to themselves of separating the outward acts of religious life in a College from the wider conception of religion, of emphasising what is infinitely valuable to a few and taking no account of what may be full of meaning and use to most. If we are too anxious to impress "Churchmanship" upon our small societies containing men of every denomination, we shall find, I believe, inevitably that our College chapels will be deserted by what we call the strongest churchmen, who will learn immaturely to attach themselves to a party and believe they are doing what is best in attending particular parish churches. And secondly, there is a more immediate and obvious danger in the effect of professionalism upon the lay Fellows of a University; it might easily come to pass that the "business" of the Chaplain is not regarded as in any way the business of the laymen. We are all deeply thankful that the obligation upon Fellows to take Orders has been removed, but it would be a grievous result to our Colleges, our National Church, our Country, if no Fellow of a College ever thought of or felt justified in taking Orders except for the purpose of becoming its Chaplain. The atrophy of religious *conviction* is an unmistakable feature of academic life; we shall not arrest it by narrowing the conception of religious life or by limiting the scope and purpose of religion.

I am told that of 29,000 clergymen in the Church of England there are but 800 engaged in the educational

work of our Schools and Universities, a return that is significant and interesting on many sides. I would here only ask whether by laying peculiar stress upon the position and work of the clergy in our Schools and Universities as distinguished from their lay colleagues we are not diverting a multitude of men from seeking the full opportunities which the Great Commission of Holy Orders alone can afford.

THE CHURCH AND THE ORGANISATION OF CHARITY

Paper read before the Winchester Clerical Society.

The paper which I had in mind to offer to the Society was to deal with the subject of the "Spiritual Life of Mediaeval England", and I had hoped to draw out some lessons which I think are lost sight of in the hurry and excitement and complexity of life in modern England. However, I was honoured by the request to take up again the subject upon which I made some observations at the Diocesan Conference, and I acquiesce most willingly, making under the circumstances no apology for the fact that I am only going once more over the same ground.

I propose in this paper to direct your attention to three points: first to the question—What *is* Charity? What have we determined to be the principles which are to guide us and the methods we are to adopt in the exercise of our love or sympathy in relation to the poor and destitute and afflicted?

Secondly, I shall endeavour to show that principles and methods, if they are to be real, effective, fruitful, continuous, imply organisation—organisation of a very strict and careful kind.

Thirdly, I hope to prove that here manifestly is the Church's opportunity—an opportunity which she may very easily in the next few years let slip with great loss to the country, and not least of all to herself.

First then, What *is* Charity? And how is Christian love to be shown and practised in our dealings with the poor and needy? I go for my answer to the life and ministry of Him "who went about doing good". What can we gather to have been the principles which our Lord illustrated by

His own actions and impressed upon His followers not so much by direct teaching but simply by what He did and the way in which He did what He did? Obviously I can only give here what is a mere summary of the impression left upon my mind by a study of the Gospels:

First and foremost, He recognised the necessity of a certain character on the part of the sufferer as the condition of receiving help or relief. He could estimate and did estimate how much men could do of themselves: "according to thy faith be it done unto thee"; "thy faith hath made thee whole"; because of their unbelief He *could* do no mighty works there. And you will observe, too, that together with what men can and must do for themselves there are many instances to show how our Lord at the same time emphasised what a man's kith and kin, those who are bound to him by the ties of family or circumstance, can also do for him.

Secondly, He implies that His action is always based on a *full knowledge* of the outward circumstances and the inward character of the sufferers.

Thirdly, He always "worked for a cure", as it has often been said. Let me take as an instance of what I mean the parable of "the Good Samaritan": as I read it, the priest and the Levite would have been equally culpable, according to our Lord's teaching, if they had bestowed alms on the wounded man and then passed on, leaving him to be robbed again; indeed it is quite obvious that the man would have been in a *worse* plight than he was already. The Samaritan is *the* example to us, because he carried the work right through, giving his personal service, *co-operating with others*, notice, because his own duties prevented him from doing full justice to the case himself, providing for the future as well as relieving the difficulties of the present.

Fourthly, He always considered the effect of what He did upon other people. *Next.* He never disregarded the circumstances and the structure of the society in which He lived He accepted "the things that were Caesar's", the con-

ditions of life such as they were in that day, in order that He might inspire them—the whole framework of civil and religious life—with His Spirit. The Roman Empire became Christian, not because our Lord and His disciples protested against it but because they accepted it.

Then next. With all that regard for others, for co-operation with men and circumstances, His work was always, to begin with, *personal*, and when the numbers or area proved too great, He showed us the need for organisation. He worked with and through His disciples.

And if He showed that almsgiving was a religious duty, He also showed that those with whom and through whom He worked before they can hope to do His work, to go about doing good, must train themselves for their work by prayer and self-discipline. And why especially? Because above all things the cure of the ills of life is *moral*. The material act of mercy is always subordinated to the spiritual help given. He insists most often and most strongly, it appears to me, upon the lesson of self-restraint, of the proper control of what might be called charitable impulses in dealing with sufferers. All outward care depends upon the care of *character*; that is the ultimate, the fundamental principle upon which all charitable action must be based. And, conversely, *if* your charity leads or encourages the sufferer to look for the *material* relief or act of mercy so called, and nothing else, if nothing else is done for him, it is plain to me that you have done him harm or are doing him harm, because you encourage him to lay up his treasure on earth for the gratification of the moment.

Let me quite briefly supplement or sum up my thoughts on this point by reminding you of St. Paul's great summary of the nature of Christ's Love. It appears to me that he draws out three characteristics, chiefly providence, unselfishness, moral strength, the exercise of all one's spiritual faculties, because moral considerations are supreme. The great mass of distress is due to improvidence, to selfishness,

to moral weakness. It is the aim of Charity to supply or help to supply these qualities amongst all members of the society in which we live.

I have said that the work of Charity must be *personal*; personal service is one of the essential conditions. I need not here, except for the purpose of leading up to my two further points, dwell upon the nature and character of this personal service; the need of *personal knowledge* of the sufferer whom one desires to relieve; the need to be thorough, patient, careful, open-minded, impartial; the need to discover the *full* extent of the trouble; the need of *tact* and the most scrupulous care in discovering it; the need to discover all the circumstances not only of the individual sufferer but all those who belong to him. It is not necessary to dwell upon the other side of the question, the infinite mischief caused by societies or agencies which adopt methods to save themselves trouble or to gain objects other than the cure or the relief of distress.

But more than this, the personal knowledge and the personal trouble, which I have tried to indicate, must be the outcome of training—training of *mind* and training of *will*; of mind particularly in becoming well informed of the methods and means available at the moment for the relief and cure of distress, of the methods and means that have been tried by others in present or in past times, of some of the elementary economic laws governing the conditions of society; a training of *will* above all in the power of turning away from the thought of all the evils that we cannot now remedy and concentrating all our energies on the work we have in hand. I have said enough perhaps to show that such personal service implies necessarily two things: *first*, the work must be viewed from the highest ground; that the workers must be those who draw their inspiration from a source higher than themselves; they must care more for character than material welfare, but

believe at the same time that material well-being is the outcome of character: they must, that is, be workers whose lives are the outward expression of that teaching and those beliefs which the Christian Church was founded and commissioned to hold up to the world.

Secondly, this personal service, you will observe, implies co-operation with others. None of it will be effective, no moral cure of distress will ever be possible, if when a plan has been adopted for helping a person, which demands some effort on his part, he finds himself able to go off to *another* worker, who acts perhaps on different lines and gives help without making demands upon him. There must be mutual conference, so that each may know what the others are doing and each may make his work supplement that in which all are engaged, and that all may agree upon or understand some definite line or principle of action. Here again is a practical expression of the fundamental idea of the Christian society—its *Communion.*

I am well aware that the moment I say that to put this "co-operation" into an effective and practical form you must have a relief committee in every parish, some people—not indeed any of my brethren present this evening—shudder. "Committee"! all the personal element gone out of charity by a stroke of the pen! all sympathy and love—the bond of the Christian Society—withered at once by a scorching breath from the modern world of business! It is *not* generally recognised how as in every other department of life, so in charitable work a very palpable change of method has been made necessary by the great change that has come over our country in the shifting of the population from the country to the town. Principles, it is true, are left unchanged; the conditions under which work becomes useful or possible are entirely altered. "The simple relationships of the village where everybody knows everybody and the whole social structure is visible to all has made way for the complexities of city life, where class is separated from class and

their mutual dependence is only manifest to those who use their sense of responsibility, their powers of reflection and imagination." We have noticed the increase of population, but we have not taken into account sufficiently the complexity of the relationship of man to man; we have therefore tended merely to enlarge the scale of operations and to increase the numbers to be dealt with. Take a very simple instance. The kindly visit of sympathy with the little delicacy brought from the Hall by the Squire's lady was valuable chiefly as a mark of personal feeling and interest: it has too often degenerated in the crowded life of the city to dealing out grocery tickets to a miscellaneous crowd of persons and drawing up statistics of the number of families dealt with. Or again the country parish Treat—the simple meal where the country folk, old and young, teachers and taught, brought into contact day by day all the year round, sit together and then make merry in a natural simple way, has become for the town parish that most wasteful, most disuniting, and distressing of all amusements, "a day at the seaside". All the personal touch in both these instances has been lost. And why? I maintain that the ultimate reason is want of a true idea of the organisation of personal service. Amongst crowded populations, with a very complex life, where the relationships between class and class seem to be hopelessly bewildering, it is more than ever necessary to try every device for not dealing with human beings in masses. To secure this end, it is as important to preserve close and intimate relations between fellow-workers, to create and keep the link between workers and worker, so as to make the whole work in all its details not less but more human, as it is to preserve the personal relationship between helpers and helped. And I will go further and say that the effect of disorganised work is *disastrous*, both to the helper and the helped. He gets overwhelmed by the impossibility of doing all that needs to be done and falls back in despair upon doing *something*; he tries to do everything

himself instead of subordinating himself and being content to be a part of a great machinery and humanising that part of the machinery for which he is fitted. The necessary parts of organised work, however, unromantic and unspiritual they may some of them appear to be, merit the blessing Christ bestows upon His workers more than the giving of the cup of cold water which can be entrusted to the least experienced worker when the whole work is arranged. The disastrous effects of disorganisation on the helped is obvious: the temptations to evasion and deceit, the despair and disappointment created by the multiplication of competing agencies, the fruitlessness of it all, the failure to do anything to lift or strengthen character.

I hold, then, that the relief of distress under the modern conditions of society must be highly and most carefully organised, in order that we may preserve, not destroy, the personal element on which it should be based. But what of the *prevention* of distress? which, after all, is a problem far more vital and more far-reaching than the cure of distress? Here, after all, we have the constructive side of charity. In dealing with *distress* we are brought into contact with the abnormal and the exceptional; in trying to prevent it we are trying to help people who are living more or less under normal conditions. This work of prevention indeed must be more pleasant, the attitude of helpers and helped is more open and natural, and the spiritual value of it is even greater because it *is* easier in it to insist more strongly on *moral issues*. The work of prevention can in fact be made to rest entirely upon efforts to strengthen character, and form habits of providence, unselfishness, and moral strength—the three essential qualities of that Christian love which is the bond of all society and of all virtues. The practical forms in which this work can be done may be summed under three heads: teaching thrift, raising the standard of life, building up character by visiting. All three forms of preventive work again most clearly demand careful organisation: teaching

thrift by the usual methods of Penny Banks, the care necessary, in adopting this method, to make sure that different systems are examined and the most suitable chosen; then to see that simple habits of thrift are encouraged and continued in providing against sickness or accident, in helping to keep up the best friendly societies and making their work most beneficial. Then secondly, the raising of the standard of life: positive ways of working for this end are perhaps too manifold to enumerate in detail; on the home life of the people depends the strength of people and the standard it sets before itself to live by; it will be the aim to establish all possible means of teaching parents their duty to their children—to value their proper education, to take advantage of every means offered to them of starting them in life, the means offered by such organisations as the G.F.S.; by apprenticeship; by emigration societies; to feel themselves and to make all in the home feel a pride in their home and desire for cleanliness and comfort, to learn the fundamental duty of self-respect. All the work of schools, classes, polytechnics, athletic and friendly societies, libraries, social gatherings—all help to raise the ideals both of individuals and of classes.

I spoke thirdly of the building up of character by intelligent, friendly, systematic visiting. After all it is just in the right sense of duty in social matters that the uneducated conspicuously fail; it is just here that those who have had greater advantages in life can make themselves felt and teach others to think. The personal effort and sympathy of the visitor can do much to improve the conditions of home life by encouraging cleanliness, by informing ignorance on the subjects of health, diet, the care of children, by dispelling prejudice, by explaining the wastefulness of many means to which the poor resort, such as pawning or dealing with the tallyman, by suggesting agencies for helping the children to go out into the world. But again and again this friendly visiting is a failure; sometimes because it becomes fitful or

mechanical; more certainly, if there is no natural link between the visitor and the visited; and such a natural link is at once supplied if the visitor comes and is recognised as a representative of some organised body, if, for instance, as collecting deposits for a bank, as a visitor from the school, as a teacher in the Sunday school, or as a manager of the club of which some of the family are members.

Those of you who have had the kindness and patience to follow me, will at once perceive the point to which I have been leading you. For carrying out the work of organised charity such as I have described, the Church possesses a unique opportunity. She has not only an organisation ready to hand, but she can—nay, it is of the very essence of her commission to show a motive for this action of her workers which would enable them to appeal to the better instincts of those whom they desire to help, having themselves the most powerful source of vigour and enthusiasm—the sense that they are carrying out the work of their Master, as He Himself showed men how to go about doing good. But let me insist that the Church, if she is to carry out this work, must act upon strict principles of organisation, applied systematically to the complex and difficult circumstances of modern life. With this in view I, at the Diocese Conference, sketched in outline the kind of scheme which I desire to see our Church adopt. It is based upon a study of the great work done by Thomas Chalmers in Glasgow, whose relief committees did so much to establish the right principles of the work of preventing and curing distress. Let me summarise it again.

First of all every parish, or if you like a group of parishes, should have a relief committee. This committee must always act upon full information; that is to say, the work must be systematic: the applicant for help is to have his case laid before a committee; it is only reasonable and natural that all its members should require to know the facts. Again, the action of the committee must be sustained;

based upon forethought and co-operation; the united force of several helpers is required for continuous work; the most experienced worker, if isolated, is sure to fail at times to think of ways of dealing with a difficulty, whilst the least practical may often suggest what is most useful. The committee should meet at least once a week.

Once more, it must be composed of persons who have had some training or are training themselves and enlightening themselves in the work.

The committee must adopt a definite policy—aiming not only at the relief, but still more at the cure, and above all the prevention of distress. It must, of course, carefully consider its relation to the administrators of the Poor Law—co-operating with them and strictly defining the respective spheres of *State* relief and their own operations. The committee must, of course, be in touch with other agencies; if possible, it should be represented on other societies and see that its own work does not overlap with theirs. To do this effectively it will have a trained secretary, who should be in close correspondence with any other charitable agency in the locality.

For the prevention of distress the committee will arrange the various entertainments for school children, will co-operate with other agencies in the neighbourhood for a similar purpose; it will institute lectures on Health (especially for mothers' meetings), spread the knowledge of friendly societies, get girls into service, keep in touch with them, push the work of Savings Banks and county holidays, visit from the school to help the work of teachers in maintaining regularity and cleanliness, undertake individual cases of moral difficulty, where it is most necessary to act wisely and to unite all concerned in a firm line of action. This at least—probably many of you can suggest a great deal more—is work for the Church to do. It is work that will be done and is being done in this country, whether the Church uses her own organisation for the

purpose or not. But just reflect for a moment what this means for the life of the Church herself; just think of the real and definite call to the laity to come and take their share in doing work for that body of which the Head is Christ; think of the increased opportunities given to the clergy set free from the actual administration of relief, and all the detailed work which too often nowadays crushes the spirit of the pastors of the flock—the opportunities to pursue their own special work first as learners and then as teachers—to realise their true object, not to create ecclesiastical organisations but to train men and women to take part in public work in the Christian spirit; think again of the practical example the Church would give of her power to co-operate with others, whose conceptions of their relation to God and of their ways of serving Him are different to their own, and the lesson she would teach—a lesson indeed which needs to be enforced—that the work of charity is independent of creeds and denominations, and finds its reward not in adding to the numbers of those who enjoy the spiritual privileges of the Church, but in fulfilling the commands of Him Who bestowed His mercy upon Syrophenician and Samaritan no less than upon those who gave up all and followed Him.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION HERE AND ABROAD

Paper read before the Winchester Clerical Society, March 14, 1904.

Any student of mediaeval history and every student, I take it, of ecclesiastical history will be struck sooner or later by the contrast presented to him between the unquestioned religious education of the Middle Ages and the questionings and heart-burnings over religious education in our own time. Whether we take ecclesiastical schools or whether we trace the efforts of the Humanists, both alike show that the whole basis of education under the predominance of the Roman Church was religious training. In the type of school which we may call ecclesiastical, where the main, if not only, interest of educators was theology, religious training pemeated, subordinated every subject of instruction; music was taught that the Church services might be worthy; writing that the liturgies of the Church might be preserved and handed on; arithmetic and astronomy were chiefly useful in fixing the Church Festivals in the Calendar. And to Humanists again, it never occurred until they were confronted by some of the intellectual difficulties and problems of pupils, that education in good citizenship could be anything primarily but education in good Churchmanship. I need not labour the point. Vitterino and Guarino are both clear and definite and precise. My chief interest this evening is to show first of all that two forces have asserted themselves since the Middle Ages; if they do not hold the field of European thought, they do at any rate control a very large part of it. These forces are first Protestantism, and next Democracy. Both forces have acted most directly upon the theory as well as the practice of religious instruction. My next step will be to invite you

to look at some salient points in the system of religious instruction as maintained in Catholic Democratic France, in Protestant and Catholic Prussia, in Democratic America, and in Protestant Democratic England. Then lastly, I should like the members of this Society to tell me whither are we tending? Are we drifting without real aim or insight? Without any main purpose or principle either in the matter of religion or of education?

First then, Protestantism and Democracy.

With the Protestant Reformation religion was strenuously insisted upon as a subject of study, but other subjects of study became more and more independent of it and were gradually given a larger share of time and attention for themselves alone. We hear, indeed, some not faint echoes in these days of a forty minutes snatched at the beginning of the working day. Protestantism then was a step in breaking up for ever the old view of religious education; may I, without using an invidious term, say "in secularising the school"? But Protestantism could not have effected it undeveloped. After all Protestantism was only, I suppose, a feature of the great movement of the mind of man towards freedom. Under the influence of the Reformation and of the modern scientific spirit men broke away from adherence to a single creed or to a single ecclesiastical organisation and formed diverse sects and groups and parties and churches—differing in details and eager to emphasise differences more than the more important points of agreement. At this point the democratic principle, if accepted at all, is bound to make itself felt in religious education. It declares that in the State-supported school, liberty of conscience must be regarded; the teaching of any one form of religious belief or formulary is inconsistent; the first step towards the removal of this inconsistency is to reduce religious teaching to the lowest possible terms. These are found to consist in the reading of the Bible, learning simple passages of it, the recitation of the Lord's

Prayer, and the singing of a devotional hymn. But this has been proved in some democratic countries to be no real or satisfactory settlement. Discussions arose in America as to whether a single version of the Bible must be used, or whether any version chosen by the reader might be read. Then it was insisted that the Bible is a sectarian book—that the non-Christian portion of the community, no matter how small, were having their rights of liberty violated when any portion of the public funds was used to present Christian doctrine to school children even incidentally. The view that State-supported schools must refrain absolutely from exerting any kind of religious influence whatever has found wide favour among the American people; it has led to sweeping provisions in some State constitutions and in statutes against sectarian instruction of any kind at the public expense. I feel that the lessons to be learnt by *us* in this respect are so significant, and the working of the democratic principle here so vivid, that I must dwell at some length upon the extraordinarily important judicial decision rendered in 1890 by the Supreme Court of Wisconsin in the case of the State, represented by Weiss and others, *v.* the District Board of School District No. 6 of the city of Edgerton. The essential question before the court was whether or not the reading of the Bible in King James' version in public schools was sectarian instruction, and as such fell within the scope of the statutory prohibitions. The court held that (1) *reading* from the Bible in the schools, even unaccompanied by comment, is *instruction*; (2) since the Bible contains numerous doctrinal passages upon some of which the peculiar creed of almost every religious sect is based, and since such passages do presumably inculcate the doctrines predicated upon them, the reading of the Bible is sectarian instruction; (3) therefore the Bible as a text-book in public schools, and the stated reading thereof in such schools without restriction, has a tendency to inculcate sectarian ideas and falls within the prohibition.

The court went on to make some interesting general observations: "The priceless truths of the Bible are best taught to our youth in the Church, the Sabbath and parochial schools, social religious meetings, and in the home circle. There those truths may be explained and enforced, the spiritual welfare of the child guarded and protected, his spiritual nature directed and cultivated in accordance with the dictates of the parental conscience." Listen to Judge Orton in a supplementary opinion. "The schools", he says, "are called by those who *wish* to have not only religion but their own religion taught therein 'Godless schools'. Godless schools they are; and the educational department of the Government is Godless in the same sense that the executive, legislative, and administrative departments are Godless. So long as our Constitution remains as it is, *no one's* religion can be taught in our common schools." Here we have the deliberate decision, pushed to its logical extreme, of Democracy. We have no time this evening to stop and wonder what the Pilgrim Fathers would have thought or said!

But let me take another verdict, the verdict of democratic France. The famous law of March 28, 1882, excluded *religious* instruction from the public schools and put civic and moral training in its stead. M. Ribière held almost the same language exactly as the Supreme Court of Wisconsin. M. Paul Bert, who presented the measure to the Chamber of Deputies, pointed out that the "religious neutrality" of the school was the *logical* outcome of the principle of the freedom of the conscience. "In our eyes", said M. Bert, "this argument has so much force that without the prohibition of religious instruction in the schools compulsory education would appear to us to be not an advantage but a danger."

We seem to have travelled some distance from the principles and practice of the Middle Ages in the matter of religious education.

We ask, then, the practical question: What provision then have Protestant and Democratic countries made for preserving religious instruction without violating constitutional principles? To answer this question in a practical way I propose to trace one or two of the main features of the system adopted in the countries I have named.

Of these four countries, two, France and America, have *only* private or denominational instruction. England has the double system—the Sunday School *and* religious instruction in day schools—Germany relies *almost* entirely upon the official instruction in religion given in her day schools—supplementing this by Sunday school instruction, which does not as a matter of fact reach a tenth of the children.

We find in France—a country predominantly Roman Catholic in confession—that both Protestant and Jewish schools received State support just as much as Roman Catholic schools. We in England should have thought that in a country where *all* large religious bodies are subsidised by the State, it would be natural and easy to have a regular system of religious instruction in connection with the day schools. After all, when *all* religious bodies are subsidised, where is the violation of political principle in allowing each denomination to teach its religion in its own way. But observe: the principle laid down both there and in America is that the State *must* not recognise religious instruction at all, because all religious instruction is sectarian. In France, therefore, as in America, no religious instruction is given in connection with the secular schools. *Thursday* is set apart as a school holiday—and on that day children can receive religious instruction quite independently of the secular school. To what extent children are instructed I find it difficult to discover. The Sunday school, as one can imagine under such circumstances and remembering what Sunday in France is, does not prosper. Altogether it would appear that some 60,000 children in France receive religious

instruction. In America, as we have seen, religious instruction must be rigidly confined to the Sunday school, some forty minutes a week. No idea seems to have been entertained of utilising their Thursday holiday; but many American clergy have been much exercised in mind and have been at great pains to prepare schemes for making their Sunday school teaching more efficient. The inference I draw from what I have learned about France and America is simply that religious instruction forms no real part of the *education* of a child; what instruction the child gets is *scrappy*, *meagre*, *unsystematic*, given by unqualified teachers.

Now let us turn to Germany. All serious religious instruction is given in the day schools, almost entirely by the regular school teachers. The Sunday school is quite undeveloped—less than one-eleventh of the children are found in Sunday schools. We have to remember that in Germany there are two strong religious organisations—the Roman Catholic in the South; the Lutheran in the North —both receiving State support and under State control. All have their policy directed from a central government bureau; and the curriculum of study is prescribed by the "Cultus Minister". The subject of religion stands first in the programme of study in the central bureau, and stands first in the daily school programme. Three and two hours a week, according to age, are required for religious instruction in every German school. In no country in the world is religious instruction so thorough or so systematic as in Germany. The Germans would no more think of omitting religious instruction than they would of omitting mathematics. May I, therefore, dwell upon this system in more detail?

I will take, first, religious instruction in Roman Catholic schools. I am quoting chiefly from the instructions used to the Royal School Council in every province by the Minister for Ecclesiastical and Educational affairs (Berlin, 1896).

Instruction in the Catholic religion in the higher schools

is to be an essential part of the general organisation of the school, closely bound up with all the branches of school work which aim at culture and education; its special mission is to make the younger members of the Catholic Church—according to the standard of their intellectual development—acquainted with the doctrines and precepts as well as the inward and outward life and work of their Church; to strengthen them in the conviction of the truth and divine origin of Christianity and of the Church; to guide them faithfully to preserve their conviction, diligently to foster it, and ever to acknowledge it by *living* in and with Christ and His Church.

The aim of religious teaching can only be attained by a sure foundation of sound religious knowledge, faithful conviction and loyalty to the Church, and by this means alone can it be hoped to carry out the other, not the least or most unimportant part of its purpose, viz. to bring about in a thorough and lasting manner the religious education and moral improvement of the young. In this the personal example of the teacher is of special importance.

The whole course is a nine-year course; the stages of instruction are *three*, corresponding exactly to the division into three stages of the schools which provide nine-year courses of education. The careful and systematic curriculum, graduated, worked out on thorough principles of education in what is called Faith and Morals, well repays study. I wish I had time now to set out more of its details.

I turn now to the instruction in the Protestant religion. This aims at bringing up the young in God's word, and fitting them to set a good and active example in the future, both by their religious and everyday life, and their participation in the life and work of the parish. Chief stress is to be laid upon a living acceptance and real assimilation on the part of the pupil of the truths of salvation and the duties of a Christian; the primary condition of success is said to lie in the living personality of the teacher in his speaking out

of the fullness of his heart; but there is to be no lack of skill to enable the teacher to adapt himself to the age of his pupils, to make his subject clear and his teaching effective.

I take one instance out of many of the very great stress laid upon the living reality and practical value of religious teaching as a basis of life: even in the highest class of the gymnasium, the *German* text is to be used mainly in reading the New Testament; the Greek text may be employed, but special care must be taken that the instruction shall not acquire a philological character to the detriment of its main object.

Moreover—and this is interesting to us—it is expressly stated that *Einleitungswissenschaften*—enjoying in England the equally hideous and misleading title of Higher Criticism—are to be given as little as possible, for they are said to fall outside the province of the school.

I regret very much I have to spare you a detailed account of the programme of work and the systematic nine-year-course curriculum, with its careful provision of children who leave at the end of the sixth year.

But now for the really instructive point which has arisen in the working of such a thorough system. In Germany it is true, I think, to say that there is more dissatisfaction than its opposite with the effect of this instruction.[1] The clergy are not satisfied, for two reasons. First, it puts their own teaching in a position *too* subordinate; and secondly, instruction is too formal—"better", says one of them, "no catechism at all than so many tears in learning it". The School men and the Liberals in Theology are dissatisfied, because the system seems to be unprogressive: first of all it takes no account of the progress of criticism, and, as a German article written in 1894 put it, "we have a double-

[1] Prof. Kirchner of Berlin says: A surfeit of religious doctrines, maxims, forms, ceremonies, prayers often produces a result precisely the opposite to the one intended. Not the School but the Church has the largest share in fostering the increase of piety.

entry system of spiritual book-keeping; for the masses we have instruction on the lines of positive Christianity in the name and by the authority of the State; in the universities, on the other hand, where young men are being educated who will in time succeed to the leadership of the Church and State, something entirely different is put forward in the name of Science; doctrines are there preached in sharpest contradiction to those given to the people". Secondly, it is thought unprogressive because it takes no account of the fact (they say) that the definite amount of religious knowledge once supposed to be and still maintained by the State to be essential to education has been steadily growing less; not a third as much is required in the universities as was insisted on forty years ago. But Prof. Russell, in his book on German Higher Education, concludes his account of religious instruction with these remarkable words: "I rarely found a schoolboy, whose judgment I considered of value in other matters, who was not deeply impressed with the worth of his religious training. There is much doubt, much senseless criticism abroad in the land, but its sources are not to be found in the schools. On the contrary, the religion of Protestant Germany as presented in the schools is one of the most powerful forces for the making of unity in German life."

I turn then, after these hasty travels in France and America and Germany, to my own country. What do I discover? The land of compromise; that inevitable instinct which lies at the root of nearly every English institution and practice, which makes them mysterious and unintelligible, both strong and weak, the envy and the butt of foreign critics, illogical as you please, but withal intensely practical.

May I for a moment remind you of the stages through which we have passed? At the beginning of the nineteenth century England was in the matter of education generally if not poverty stricken, yet miserably penurious. The

awakening consciousness of religious need amongst the *people* was answered by the efforts of individual enterprise. First, Lancaster led up to the British and Foreign School Society; then in answer to them, Bell created the National Society. Then came the recognition by Government of its responsibilities to religious instruction and the beginning of the system of grants to "voluntary schools" so called. Then came in 1870 the system of Public Education and the creation of Board Schools. The question of religious instruction at once asserted itself, and we are all familiar with the settlement adopted: (1) that religious instruction *must* be given ; (2) that it must not be denominational ; (3) to save the consciences of those who had only a denominational school within reach, religious instruction in such schools earning grants must be given at a time when pupils might absent themselves from it without losing any of the other advantages of the school; (4) there should be no State inspection of religious training in the denominational schools.

And then last of all comes the Education Act of 1902, with its Clause 4 dealing with religious instruction. But we sometimes forget that side by side with all this there is another agency at work in religious instruction, about the efficiency and improvement of which I believe far too little is thought. Since 1780 we have had in England the system of religious instruction in Sunday schools. In the year 1900 there were more pupils being taught in Sunday schools than in all the day schools of Great Britain. What shall we then say to the foreign inquirer about our system? (1) That the great majority of English people are convinced that religious instruction forms a necessary part of education. Unless, indeed, you hold with Feuerbach that "religion is man's most terrible ailment", you cannot logically omit religious training from training. (2) That we insist, all of us, upon respecting the conscientious convictions of others; we cannot force any particular form of

religious belief or doctrine upon anyone; whether we can compel a man to pay for the support of a form of teaching with which he disagrees, I do not discuss. (3) That we have also a Sunday school system controlled and arranged by the clergy and ministers of religion quite independent of the State.

Have we anything to learn in reference to our own system from our neighbours?

I think America and France warn us that we shall have some difficulty in asserting the necessity or the practicability of religious instruction in State schools, if we assert side by side with that the inevitable principle of Liberty upon which a democracy rests. I think they prove on the other hand that, so long as we *can* cling to the conviction that religious training is a necessary part of education, we do so far—and to no small extent—help also the work of the Sunday school. In America and France I believe the failure of the Sunday school is largely to be attributed to the veto put upon religious instruction in the recognised educational system of those countries. Once more, I think Germany seems to show that if religious instruction is to be really effective it must be denominational—based upon a definite and properly constructed programme. I recognise also in the German documents on the subject with warm appreciation the statement invariably made that to teach religion the teacher must be religious. So much is this insisted upon that although in Germany every teacher receives religious training for his work, not every teacher gives religious instruction. This is usually assigned to those best fitted by temperament and acquirements to give it.

And here I am brought into direct touch with what I believe to be a very real source of confusion and error at the bottom of all our controversies and strife and bitterness. We have not made in our minds the necessary distinction between two very vital but two distinct things: one, the *religious* side of education—education the training of the

mind of the young with the great purpose of stimulating the moral intelligence, of enabling the young gradually to realise their duty to God and to one another, to obey conscience, to recognise the claims of duty—that is one thing. Another thing is instruction given in the tenets, the doctrine, the history of the particular form of religion adopted by a parent and his child. If we confuse the two, as I believe we do, we run into serious danger—the danger of relegating religious instruction to a corner of the time-table—a forty minutes to be got in as best it can—utterly colourless and yet treated as a distinct subject parallel to but not at the very basis of all education—and taught possibly in an absolutely mechanical way. I agree entirely with the late Bishop Creighton: "If I were to have to choose between two systems of education, in one of which secular teaching was to be given by a religious man, and in the other religious teaching by a secular man, I have no hesitation in saying which system I would choose in the interest of religion as well as of education." Side by side with this danger, too, is the danger of forgetting that the religious instruction given must be *educational*. *Our* danger, to sum up, is that the educational system may not be religious, and our other agencies for giving religious teaching not educational.

I repeat that at present most of us English people hold fast the conviction that religion, as we baldly put it, must be taught in our schools. I do not think we shall hold fast that conviction for long, or in the face of other conflicting considerations, unless we make very much more and think very much more of systematising religious instruction, of making it stimulating, progressive, educational, than we think of fighting the religious question in the dusty field of politics. After all, what we want to do is to train up the younger generations to realise the *value* of the religious instruction they receive. Why is there an outcry at this moment against compulsory Greek, raised, mark you, by

hundreds of men who were brought up on it rigidly? Largely, I believe, because it was taught them in a way and by methods that gave the subject no educational value —*Verbum sapienti.*

On the one hand I hope that we English people will do everything in our power to kindle, to keep alive, to extend the spirit of reverence for the ideal of true *education*—the training of human faculties for the service of God and man in the work of the world. Let us see to it, so far as we can, that every teacher is religious in the widest and loftiest sense of the term.

But, on the other hand, not less important—nay, even more immediately binding upon us clergy—is the duty of seeing that the religious instruction we provide is really as educative as, shall we say, history or mathematics. We have not as yet taken full advantage of or exhausted the opportunities offered to us. In our Sunday school system, for instance, it is manifestly true that the work is in charge of anybody and everybody who is willing to undertake it; classes are taught by people of all possible grades of intelligence and knowledge; very little attempt is made to adapt the subject matter of instruction to the intellectual capacity of children; there are but few signs of a graded course of instruction. These criticisms very possibly may apply to religious instruction in all our public schools. Far be it from me to stigmatise the Sunday school as insufficient; but I take it as a palpable instance of the neglect we have shown or, if you like, the difficulties we have met with in attempting to make our religious instruction in those spheres where we are quite untrammelled by legislation and conscience clauses really and effectively educational. Let me suggest as a subject for investigation for ourselves—The Sunday School and its Course of Study.

I trust we may soon see our way beyond the dust and turmoil of political controversies confusing the great issues of the educational problem, and be able to make up our

minds more clearly and decisively upon the two distinct questions: What do we mean by National education? How shall we systematise religious instruction?

I am reminded, alas too often, of Dante's vision of a distracted world and his yearning for a real unity: "How the world has gone on," he cries in his first book on the Monarchy, "how the world has gone on from the time when that seamless robe of Christ was first torn by the claws of covetousness, we may read and would that we might not see. O race of men, by how great storms and losses, by how great shipwrecks had those of necessity been vexed since, transformed into a beast of many heads, thou hast been struggling different ways—sick in understanding, equally sick in heart. The higher intellect with its invincible reasons, thou reckest not of; nor of the inferior with its eye of experience; nor of affection with the sweetness of divine suasion, when the Holy Ghost sounds to thee, 'Behold how good it is and how pleasant, brethren, to dwell together in unity'."

FROM THE BISHOP'S CHARGE IN SOUTHWARK CATHEDRAL, 1915

1. ENGLISH CHURCH ORGANISATION

I SHALL begin with my most grateful acknowledgment of the care and pains which very many of my brethren have taken in making the returns for which I asked, and in answering the supplementary questions I put to them. The boy, we know, is father of the man; and there remains in all of us enough of the boy to make us resent at first sight a formidable-looking examination paper, and to prompt us to pit ourselves in a match of wits against wits. Whatever may be the right attitude of boys or men towards examination papers, this, at any rate, is clear about the part you are called upon to take in your Bishop's Visitation: you are all expected and, I am thankful to notice, have all desired to help me in the responsible task of overseeing without overlooking; to enable me to gather together and share with you some of the main elements of the problem which the Church in our Diocese is called upon to face; to know something about our resources, not merely material but spiritual, not of money only, but of Christian men and women, wherewith we make our contribution to the life of the Church and our Nation in our time; to face the question whether our Church system with all its obligations works; whether we do our best in all honesty and sincerity to make it work; where we feel it needs strengthening, readjusting, completing. The bound volume of *Visitation Returns*, 1915, remains the record for the generations who come after us of what our Diocese is and tries to do and most needs. Not only for ourselves then, though that would be important enough in itself, but for those that come after

us are we in honour obliged to take the returns in full seriousness, and to be at pains to ensure their accuracy and honesty. Let me observe in passing that I have myself constantly referred to the returns made twenty or thirty years ago by parishes now in this Diocese—formerly in the Diocese of Rochester—and have gleaned information and learned from them lessons of encouragement and warning which could have been given me, I believe, in no other way so clearly and forcibly. In doing so I have taken full account of the human element, which finds full play in answering even the simplest question; yet sometimes it is not unprofitable to appraise people's imaginations, even if we may feel doubtful about their facts. However, I come back to my simple and sincere acknowledgment of your co-operation in putting together the returns of this year.

I shall to-day put before you some of the results of this investigation and the suggestions which these results seem to involve. If these suggestions are merely the personal impressions made upon me, for what that is worth, you will understand that they are the outcome of a conspectus of all the notes taken together which I made upon each return after I had read it. That conspectus certainly indicates some clear lines and characteristics of our work and common endeavour.

But before I begin to deal with the question, "what do the Visitation returns tells us and teach us?" I wish to emphasise two points in order to give reality as well as a sense of responsibility to what we are doing here to-day and to-morrow.

First, we are brought together here as the two bodies of Church officials—the Clergy and the Churchwardens, who are the chosen representatives of the lay parishioners. The life of the Church everywhere, and surely not least of all in this Diocese, requires the united work and leadership of both; and both are required to feel the responsibility which leadership lays both upon Clergy and upon lay

representatives; it is the responsibility for being real. We, all of us here, hold official titles; but we none of us here hold mere official titles. It is required of us as leaders and representatives, not of parishes, not even of the Diocese, but of the Church of Christ here and now, before all things to be worthy examples of Christ's flock, to prove our profession which is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ "daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living", and necessarily, as the expression of this worthiness, to see to it by all means in our power that our Church system fulfils its purpose, that it can and does, when it is used to the full, supply the need it claims and has been created to supply, that failures and deficiencies are accounted for in order to be amended and made good, that present dangers are honestly recognised in order to be avoided.

And this gathering is summoned by the Bishop; over it he presides. A Visitation Assembly, you will remember, is the occasion beyond all dispute, recognised by lawyers, Parliament, clergy, throughout our history, on which in its recurring periods the Bishop's authority, his office, that is, and his place in our system are presented. If it is his office to pronounce with authority, it is because he has other and more ample means of judging than anyone else in his Diocese. It is his business to exercise himself to use those means aright. In pronouncing, he is more directly prompted than anyone else by the motive of considering not any one part, but the whole. It is his business to exercise himself day and night in keeping that motive lofty and undefiled. But whilst his office and place necessarily carry such authority, at the same time and with equal necessity his aim will be to invite counsel, and to elicit opinion and criticism. For he and those whom he summons and all to whom his authority extends define their relation to one another in the last resort not by the technicalities of lawyers or constitutionalists, but by their common consecration and the call of carrying on what their Master "began both to do and to teach".

Ours is a partnership not circumscribed by authority, but moulded by mutual confidence.

Secondly, I am moved to urge you to appreciate the fact that this, our Church system, in which you and I together are called to be leaders, is essentially true to type; it belongs to and is characteristic of the earliest days; and at the same time, if we determine to prove that it is in effect the system which will work best in these latter days, we give the most convincing witness to continuity, the continuous tradition of the character and the work of the Visible Church on earth. Let me attempt to explain to you what I mean.

You come here as officers of parishes; but when I summon you, I think of you as members of larger corporate life, of Rural Deaneries, of Archdeaconries, of a Diocese, of a Province, of a National Church, of the Church Universal. So it has been from the beginning since first the Church became organised to learn and to teach. The Apostles and their successors, Bishops, founded the early churches; from early days such churches were officered by Bishops Suffragan, and under different titles by Archdeacons and Rural Deans; in every town, in many country districts in Eastern Christendom, as well as in the South, Church work was supervised and directed by Bishops Suffragan; then at a later stage, as the work becomes more complex and needs to be delegated, by Arch-Presbyters, who in Latin countries were Rural Deans; so too, in our own land in the ninth century, our Archdeacons are named Rural Deans; in our own country the office of Rural Dean as we know it was developed later. After the conquest both Archdeacons and Rural Deans formed a system of administration and judicature parallel to the civil officers in their districts, to carry out the work of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Even in such mere outline we hope to remind ourselves that our Church offices are ancient, but not antiquated. To many of you I doubt not, I even hope, this is an old story, which needs no repeating. Still I do repeat the old story; old errors and

mistaken notions are handed on; cheap or impatient criticisms founded on very imperfect knowledge or mere prejudice are the stock-in-trade of shallow minds. Paper constitutions are ready to hand on all sides, and are advocated and discussed out of all perspective. Church people themselves are too often and too generally quite unaware of the strength and the meaning or, indeed, even of the framework fitly joined together of the system under which they are asked to work. So long as these things are so, let us go on repeating the old story.

And I go further. Our Church system is, in some almost unique ways, throughout its history a witness to the value and power of organisation. Let me say at once that I need no warning like the warning given to me by one of the brethren, who is seriously anxious lest Bishops, or his Bishop, may come to be regarded as an organiser—not a Father in God. I know better than anyone that his Bishop's limitations are strict beyond all human criticism.

I shall have something to say presently of the true relation of organisation to the life of the Church. Here I am only concerned to point out that the history of our Church life in England shows that at a very early stage we determined that that life must be regulated and organised.

When the King of Northumbria decided at the Council of Whitby, expressing, I doubt not, the mind of the Council in favour of the Southern Mission as against the old Celtic Mission, I am compelled to conclude that the decision was not influenced by abstract arguments dealing with claims or by assertions of authority on this side or on that, but by the practical motive of securing better organisation and administrative power. The old tribal ideas, upon which the old Northern Church, as we call it, rested, were too limited and ineffective to grasp or deal with the larger idea of a "Church of England", set in a framework that would include and unite the whole country. That idea, remember, had been impressed upon Augustine by Gregory I. The

missioners he sent were to found a National Church, because national churches express the primitive and catholic idea of Christianity. And immediately after the Council of Whitby that framework and organised life of a National Church was put together, under Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury. He divided the country into the two Provinces, each containing their Sees, created on territorial lines. These Sees, for the practical purpose of doing their spiritual work for the people more adequately, developed parishes and the parochial system. Later on, for the better direction of parochial life, there were developed Archdeaconries, and very soon after, Rural Deaneries. For 1300 years that system has been handed on to us. I repeat, it is the striking witness we give to the power and value of organised life; yes, because it is God's purpose that His work of redemption should be carried on for mankind by mankind—by human agents; and human agents produce only confusion if unordered and unregulated. Nay more than that: human agents, combined in a system, officered on a system, united by obedience to the purpose underlying that system, and by conscious allegiance to the duty of fulfilling that purpose, become an agent greater than the sum total of all the individual members or parts, with an identity, a mind, and will of its own. That is what a visible, working Church was meant to be for our England.

True, we may be over-organised and over-officered; we may be organised without being organic. Let me for a while set on one side what we mean and fear when we say that. On this occasion and for the moment, I come to close quarters with organised Church life as we know it in this Diocese, and with some of the facts of our time-honoured system as they are elicited by the returns which you have made to me.

We of this Diocese have no excuse for failing to appreciate the features of that organised Church life of which we form a part. We can understand that we belong to a Province,

for we have our Archbishop living in our midst. In the old sense of the term I am set as his Suffragan to oversee the spiritual work of the Church in this strip of England now marked out to be the Diocese of Southwark. Our Cathedral and Mother Church, however plaintively we plead that it means "little to many of our people because it is so far off", is, as a matter of fact, within an hour and a half's journey for the remotest parishioner. We have our Assistant Bishops with their clearly recognised spheres of work and functions. We have our Archdeacons in constant and intimate relations with the Rural Deans, the Clergy of the parishes, many of the churchwardens and lay members. We have our Rural Deans not only punctual in the duties of their office, but ready to use the opportunities which our compact areas offer of making Chapters and Conferences fruitful in the life of parishes and contributing to the life of the Diocese.

We are, I hope, becoming by sure stages more and more familiar with the reality of this organised life. We must not be impatient if we are not yet, most of us, nearly familiar enough with it. After all, our Diocese is only ten years old; and English people have grown long unaccustomed, if indeed they ever were accustomed, to value the principles of organisation regulating their Church life. Let us begin by being thankful that we have the opportunity so readily and obviously offered to us. No one feels and expresses his thankfulness day by day more heartily than the Bishop of this Diocese, for the statesmanship, the grasp of principle, and the power of leadership which marked the work of the first Bishop of the Diocese of Southwark, and set our Church system on its way here; for the untiring devotion of Assistant Bishops—shall I even rather call them yours than mine?—for the Archdeacons, who from first to last have been truly στρατιᾶς ὀφθαλμοί, eyes not only to enable the Bishop to see, but also to give truer and larger vision to the Brethren; for the Rural Deans, whose tact and readiness to help have

been tried in many directions and, indeed, not found wanting, most conspicuously in these last months when we have set in motion our new scheme of finance. And not least of all, I am constantly thankful for the part which so many loyal and devoted laymen have played from the first in giving themselves whole-heartedly to working with the Bishop and the Clergy; in helping to keep the Church in the Diocese going on and on; in claiming their duty to be fellow-workers without asserting rights, which is truly the essence of loyalty. I trust the generations of Church people here will always thankfully remember what we and they have owed to the laymen who were inspired by the task of helping to fashion this Diocese.

We pass now to some of the details of our work. Our Church and parochial system has sometimes been called "a network of agencies", spiritual, social, and philanthropic. I am quite sure that no one who knows me will take it amiss if I omit to acknowledge specifically or draw attention to the work of the different associations of men and women serving, doing their real ministerial work, in this Diocese. They ought to know by this time—if they do not, I must have failed miserably to prove to them my appreciation of their strength and reality of purpose, and my desire to use them to the full. Much more effective than any acknowledgment from me would be the study, by all who are concerned about the work of the Church in our generation, of the *Diocesan Directory* (pp. 259-334). I mean this seriously. Too many of us think meanly and vaguely both of the work given to us to do and of the way in which it can be done, simply because we do not know what means and ways are being tried and are available. To such I say, begin by studying the *Diocesan Directory*.

2. PAROCHIALISM TRUE AND FALSE

It cannot be too often repeated that there is a true parochialism as well as the false parochialism of which we hear most. If the false parochialism leaves a parish like Ephraim, "a wild ass, alone by himself", the true parochialism inspires a parish throughout with the sense of a self-respecting State contributing its own life, with all it yields, to the larger federative Union to which it belongs. The *raison d'être* of a parish is to be a member of the larger Union—but a member using its own gifts or opportunities. By all means let parishes seek advice and help and stimulus from the Central Offices, or from Headquarters, or combine for the purpose in Rural Deaneries. The smallness or the largeness of a parish, the difficulties of making parochial organisations effective, and the characteristic difficulties of our own crowded parishes—with shifting populations for the most part untouched by our work—all these things emphasise all the more strongly the need of the wider co-operation and of the interchange of mutual counsel and service. But the object all the while is to quicken and stimulate and encourage the life in every parish, and that life must grow from within, from its own resources and opportunities; it will never be attained by mere imitation or by being imposed from without. Granted that we gain much encouragement and some wider outlook by means of Diocesan and Ruridecanal Festivals, or Conventions or days of United Intercession in our Cathedral, or the combined witness of a Good Friday Procession, yet I always feel and hope that such efforts are made in order that they may be used parochially, and adapted to the needs of different parishes or, conversely, are the combined upheaval produced by the efforts that are being habitually made in separate parishes. I should indeed always be

anxious to safeguard our great Diocesan or Ruridecanal efforts from the risk of being merely spasmodic; I distrust spasms. To safeguard them make them as significant in themselves as you will, but let them lead to the quickening and encouragement of such means of life parochially. The alternative, you may be certain, is only to make the Diocesan Festival or the Ruridecanal enterprise an excuse for doing nothing in the parish; and very soon such parishes are found to be the most conspicuously absent from the Diocesan Festival.

The list of parochial activities and agencies is long and varied indeed: Clubs, Classes, Guilds, Associations, Societies for men and women, lads and girls. Some with an obviously definite spiritual purpose, some what we call distinctly secular. All of them I hope "Church work"; for the work of the Church is to make men and women, lads and girls, temperate and pure and self-respecting and self-sacrificing, ready to help one another to grow into the image of God Who made them.

I do not suppose I need nowadays seek to remove the doubts which continually are suggested whether all these activities lead to much result, whether after all many of them are taken up in parishes for some "ulterior motive", some material interest, or sometimes as an easy way of finding amusement. We should indeed be thankful to see more and better results. But the first and last warning to keep before us always in all work, is that "salt is good"—it purifies and preserves; but it *must* keep its savour. What gives spiritual endeavour its spiritual character is the spirit we seek and spread in making it. If some of the work is distinctly secular, we need the best men and women to make secular work good. So and only so do Clubs, and Guilds, and Associations severally fulfil their purpose, spiritual, moral, social. So long as the salt keeps its savour, these agencies *are* means without question of drawing and holding people together, and saving them from something

of the feeling of lonesomeness and irresponsibility which living in a crowd is sure to bring and develop; they *are* means of quickening some sense of corporate life and obligation, which the struggle and competition of life, the practical necessity of playing for one's own hand, tends to destroy or even to discredit; they *are* means of forming and keeping a nucleus of good public opinion to protect people from the subtle force of false ideas of manliness and womanliness, from the wasteful misuse of leisure; finally, they *are* means of doing what good homes can do better, but what bad homes or no homes hinder or destroy. It seems to me idle at this time of day to lament the disappearance or decay of the old homeliness of English homes. In all the circumstances under which we appear to live in our Diocese, with its factories and tenements and courts and alleys and crowds and the suburban round of work and play, we are called upon to find and promote means of doing the best which under other circumstances good homes have done. I have said purposely "appear to live", for I am not inclined to jump to the conclusion too readily that there is not a great deal of true home feeling in some of the least promising surroundings; and in them not seldom the workers—clerical or lay—find their hope and encouragement, and win no less blessing than they bring.

But my main point—that in all this long list of parochial activities the salt must keep its savour—is of course that all such agencies and activities are to find their centre and meaning in the corporate life of the Household of God. And if I were asked to show in what ways precisely this sentiment is to be kindled and kept alive, I answer that we must make more sure than we have done that we appeal to the right motive. First, we must ask our people to help us to do the work of the Church; we are not here to help them; rather do we need them every one; we need each other in order to give the Family of which we are members its true effect and place in our generation. In no other

way can we come, I will not say to be convinced of, but to realise faintly the unfathomable mystery of God's need of the will and heart of each human creature to achieve His purpose; to realise that is the true basis of self-respect—just as self-respect is the true basis of true living. Secondly, such a motive will begin to inspire our people with some enthusiasm for the Church as their own best heritage, and for the House of God as the one place where all can learn to feel at home. That is the first "Housing problem" which exercises the heart and wits of any zealous Church worker.

We may seem a long way off any hope of reaching the desired end—we have a long leeway to make up—and I hope we shall not think we are bringing our people to church or teaching them to feel at home there and to make themselves habitually at home there by "religious functions", still less merely by imitating what seems to be so successful in some other parish or even some other country; least of all shall we achieve our end by making up services in church as "counter attractions" to popular amusements. If that is how and where we begin, that is how and where we shall end. Thank God, we are too severely handicapped to be able to compete on those lines.

Rather the beginning and the end shall be the motive not of getting something but of uniting; that is the motive Nature herself suggests, for man is made to live in community; and in living in the community of highest ideals and clearest sanctions, he fulfils himself; and in fulfilling himself he fulfils God's purpose.

I trust this does not seem mere words. You hoped for some practical suggestion and your hopes are answered by mere abstractions, by talk about motive. Certainly, we must begin with the right motive; we must act upon the right motive; we must appeal to the right motive. For the last ten, twenty, thirty years we have been overwhelmed with practical suggestions, we have made numberless experiments. Many suggestions have been fruitful, many

experiments have produced good and abiding results. Yet the fact remains that the Church reaches but a small proportion of the population; if it comes to that, in the face of Charles Booth's *Religious Life in London*, the religious communities all taken together cover only a small part of the ground.

The Church fails to "reach", just so far as the Church, that is, members of the Church, fail to claim the duty and recognise the privilege of bringing others in, of appealing to fellow-men for co-operation in what they must admit is the best work to be done in the world.

"The English character of reserve", "the unwillingness to interfere with another man's religious or non-religious opinions and habits". Are we quite convinced of the reality of these pleas? I do not notice much reserve about asserting opinions and rights in other directions; there we are aware of a glorious emphasis and a good deal of shouting when we really are moved to attempt to convince others even against their will. Are we quite sure that the reserve, the diffidence and shyness, are not due to the indolent temper, and unwillingness to interfere is not the result of thinking that in the long run it "doesn't much matter"?

The greatest hindrance to the work of the Church is not the hostility of opponents or the indifference to religious interests on the part of hosts of other people, but the wrong standard (I will not say poor standard) of what the Church, that is we ourselves, are set here to do and to attempt. And the false standard is set by the false motive of membership.

3. THE LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE

After discussing "the possibilities of mission work in missionary dioceses like our own" the Bishop continued:

My warning is, lest here, as in so many departments of life, religious and secular, we are being merely tempted to

take the line of least resistance. It is much easier, it is more gratifying in results, it lays a "more flattering unction to the soul", to care for those who care for and respond to us.

Nowhere is the temptation to take that line stronger than in face of the work we of this diocese are called upon to do, just because the line of resistance is so clear and the resistance itself is so strong. The numbers to be dealt with are very great; the problems are very complex; the interests to be considered are manifold and conflicting; the demands upon time and attention are very exacting. Beware lest the eminently practical conclusion that we can't do more than we can, find us doing much less than we might. For, on the other hand, there is no field of work in which we are more openly challenged to choose always the more difficult line of action and to prove the incomparable power of the Church to face and to overcome difficulties.

Let me speak quite plainly of some of the ways in which the temptation assails us and acquiescence makes our work ineffective and discredited.

Pardon me if I seem to begin with an instance which seems trivial. We live within easy reach of one another; nothing is easier or more ready to hand than "to refer the matter" to someone else, to leave it to the Bishop to decide, to shirk the responsibility of a decision, because it is an awkward or distasteful decision to make. You will not, I am sure, mistake me; few, I trust, in this diocese believe that I wish to be anything but accessible to all or to do anything but take my full share of pastoral care and responsibility. But I cannot refrain from saying that I have sometimes been amazed to find that I have been called in to settle difficulties which it is a bad example in Christian brethren not to be able to settle between themselves. To refer such difficulties to anyone else is a sign of weakness and of the worldly spirit. "Therefore do ye rather realise a character in conformity with God and all pay regard one to another, and let none look upon his neighbour as mere

flesh and blood, but in Jesus Christ love one another thoroughly." So says Ignatius simply and straightforwardly. We claim or ought to claim, because we are Christ's, to be able to overcome difficulties, and to compose differences which the human spirit uninformed by the spirit of Christ finds it impossible to overcome or to compose.

Once again, let us be warned against taking the line of least resistance by circumstances of another kind.

I cannot help noticing that the shock and bewilderment of the last year and a half have led to the weakening of effort in some palpable ways. Why should there be such a marked falling off in the number of candidates for Confirmation? The answer comes readily, because so many of our young men have joined the Army and gone away. But the falling off is most noticeable in young lads under 14. That is accounted for by the fact that many of our clubs and associations for boys have to be closed for want of men to manage them. But it is just that kind of emergency, of insuperable difficulty, which we claim or ought to claim that we can meet most effectively; we are not the victims of circumstances, but see in circumstances our real opportunities. In saying this I do not forget the real upheaval that has taken place in some parishes. The lives of our Arsenal workers have been for fifteen months entirely abnormal. I am quite sure that my stalwart friends in Plumstead would not have abandoned the annual men's gathering had it been possible to get the men together. Also, I do not forget how many quite new and special efforts have been made and prospered, in obedience to the call of the times. But there is a tendency and a temptation to let things drift or drop, vaguely "because of the war", and just those things which are part of the most regular routine of pastoral and ministerial duty. We are told of the large numbers of grown men in the trenches or in our training camps who have been brought into touch with the Chaplains and then presented for Confirmation. I am

thankful enough for that. But most of them ought long ago as lads to have been reached in our parishes; and the fact only brings home to us what statistics tell us, that at any rate in this diocese two-thirds of those who are sought out and baptized in our parishes are never, so far as we can judge, brought to be confirmed.[1] I am not unduly elated when an Army Chaplain tells me he has instructed and presented for Confirmation twenty-eight of his men, but the parish of 2000 which he has left in order to serve as a Chaplain produces two candidates.

I sometimes feel that we fail to use or to see what means we have at our disposal and ready to our hands: resourcefulness and imagination—those two qualities more than any other are tested by an emergency. I am quite certain that, with our long list of men's societies and women's and girls' associations, it is possible to economise and distribute our resources of human agents to do some of the work that must at all costs not be left undone. But here again, before we arrive at any effective economy, there must be a much deeper and much more general recognition of the truth that any member of any such society is there to help to do the work of the Church that needs doing most at that moment. With that goes the truth that each and all are to claim and to be claimed to be used as "fellow-workers". I know well I am venturing here upon the old, the vital question of the recognition of the claim and place of "the lay member". I do not now venture further than the statement of my conviction that we have the men and women, we have the facilities for using them more widely and effectively than we have ever tried. There are great difficulties to be overcome and some prejudices to be removed; it is the line of least resistance to let things be and blame our circumstances.

God knows how difficult the times and circumstances are that lie before us for many years to come! If anyone

[1] *Baptisms*, 33,694. *Confirmations*, Male 3569 ; Female 6291.

prays for Peace and Victory because he thinks he is going to have an easier time, he does indeed pray blindly. Quite apart from all the influences which the plain necessity of material repair and reconstruction set in motion; quite apart from all the forces of reaction; if Peace is to be fruitful or abiding it must be inaugurated and promoted by a larger sense of responsibility on the part of all citizens and a truer allegiance to the common life. In Church life, therefore, and Church work, if the Church is to have any influence in shaping the future, we shall begin now to prove our larger sense of responsibility and a truer allegiance. That in itself means not an easier but a more difficult task; it means wills more stoutly braced, minds better trained, hearts more loyally devoted. The discipline to prepare us for the more difficult time before us is being provided in the very difficulties and emergencies which confront us now.

4. THE OBLIGATION OF STUDY

Let me give yet another instance of the temptation to take the line of least resistance as it is felt, and felt to be almost insuperable, in the stress of work such as ours: the temptation to forgo all regular and systematic study and reading. Anyone who examines the returns made to me must become painfully aware how overwhelmingly difficult many find it to economise time and energy; there is the exhaustion of time and physical powers in the round of pastoral visits, in carrying out the full programme of parochial clubs and classes and societies, in doing all the necessary business which parochial organisation creates; there is the haunting and incessant preoccupation in many parishes of raising funds: in many of the most crowded parishes, where it is felt that all kinds of activities and

experiments are most needed, upon the clergy and a very slender staff of workers devolves the whole responsibility of keeping "everything going": the surroundings and intellectual atmosphere do not encourage or stimulate reading and intellectual training: we become tempted after a short while to believe that a "little goes a long way", that more than that little will not make any difference.

Then again, we live in days of newspaper articles, magazines, reviews, manuals, little books on great subjects; it is easy enough to repeat catch phrases, "the right thing to say" on topics of the day, without ever learning to weigh or form opinions; reading becomes skimming the surface without assimilating or discriminating.

And, once more, ours has been an age of talking, of practising and cultivating all the arts of the platform and the debating society; we have not insisted upon or valued steady uninterrupted thinking. Hence it is that we find ourselves so lamentably bankrupt of ideas.

Yet beneath all these difficulties think for a moment of our ministerial vocation in the Diocese of Southwark in the early years of the twentieth century. The special spiritual gift for which we pray on the Great Anniversary of the Church, endowed and enabled to carry on her Master's work, is the "right judgment in all things". Surely that means not only spiritual devotion and enthusiasm and glowing hearts, but at the same time trained, disciplined minds. Observe that I do not speak or think of great learning or expert knowledge; unfortunately not always are the most learned, still less are "the experts", conspicuous for their right judgment. Rather I have in view the discipline of the mind by regular systematic study, the mind that becomes trained to weigh well, to see things in true proportion, to shun exaggeration as falsehood, to know that one-sidedness is one-sidedness.

I may be told (indeed, I have not passed twenty-five years of my life in playing my humble part in the attempt

to educate, without knowing) that books and the written page are not necessarily the means best adapted for training minds in right judgment; "practical experience", "insight of affairs", "contact with living men and real things"—these, it is declared often, are most truly formative. It is indeed comforting to think that we do not rely entirely upon reading and study; if that were so, we were indeed in a parlous state. But I leave that general question of means of education and come to my special concern, the reading of Clergy as leaders of Church work and in Church life here and now. Suppose we substitute for reading and study "practical experience": our experience of what? An incessant round of parochial activity, so strenuous remember that many declare it is quite impossible to spare the time for keeping in touch even with fellow-workers or interests outside their own parochial programme. Or "insight of affairs"? Are they affairs which will certainly train the clergy in their "contact with living men and women" to form just that sounder judgment and to put things in just that truer perspective which will give light and leading to the many who are blinded, confused, and bewildered?

Let me put before you another consideration which our age and its tendencies suggest. In a "democratic age", as we call it, the facilities for obtaining information on all and every topic are open to all; most members of our congregations have the means offered to them of forming opinions on the subject laid before them just as freely as the clergy who expound it; and under such circumstances it is not an uncommon tendency in democracies for every man to think his own opinion is just as good as—or rather better than—his neighbour's. The clergy at any rate have no monopoly of education; they can claim no esoteric knowledge. However wistfully some may look back to the Middle Ages or sigh to reproduce the conditions and circumstances which gave Chaucer's "Poure Parson of a

toune" his unique place in the community, you can never undo what the invention of printing has done.

Yet with all these facilities of information coupled with increased facilities of intercourse, I doubt whether there has ever been a stronger tendency to live in compartments; we have enjoyed the freedom to live amongst people of the same sort as ourselves, of the same occupations and interests, to think just what we want to think, to exclude from our view any argument or consideration which tells against the opinion we wish to maintain, to read only the writings which will satisfy and confirm the prejudices with which we start out; but to a great extent we have been using this freedom as the cloak of bondage. But, worse than that, all this living in compartments is part and has been part of a sure process of disruption. "Our class—our association—our party—stands to uphold or to recover certain great principles"; well and good. Let us at the outset be sure we do not over-emphasise or exaggerate our "great principles". But, even so, are we large-hearted and sane enough to preserve loyalty to those principles with appreciation of the sincerity and loyalty of those who differ from us? If not, we soon come to regard such appreciation as disloyalty to our own cause, and then we are not far off deciding that there is no common end for which both are working; in fact, each works *only* to defeat or exclude the other; they determine not to live together. The German militarists had noted and relied on these forces of disruption in England; it seemed indeed as if on three questions searching the very depths of our political life—Ireland, Woman's Suffrage, Strikes—we had reached the point of realising that it was quite impossible to arrive at any mutual understanding. The war burst upon us in the midst of all that to stagger party leaders into seeing that at the back of all the controversies and great principles which each stands to uphold, there is a common end to which all parties and their principles are the means—

nothing less than the very existence of the community. And only so far as each section realises, understands, desires, and works for that common end shall we emerge from the struggle undefeated.

So powerful, then, has been, I say, the tendency in our time to self-centredness, isolation, cliquism, lack of mutual understanding and interest. The tendency begins in and is fostered by a narrow range of interests and limited outlook. And we clergy—what have we to say to this? What have we to do with these forces of disruption? We are always being reminded that it is our business to lift the questions and interests of the hour to a higher level, above the dust and heat of partisan prejudices and controversies, to put them in their right setting, to help "to form a right judgment in all things". Certainly we shall not do this if we become a class that renounces all interest or concern in helping to form a right judgment. Moreover we are bound to make sure that we do not begin with the self-centredness and partisanship which will start the process of disruption in our own Church life.

But how are we to begin? How shall we clergy come to be known and trusted and to exert our influence in this our day as men of judgment? I answer unhesitatingly, at least by deliberately and systematically training our minds to weigh opinions and problems as thoughtfully, as dispassionately as we may, by reading. And what do I mean by reading? I mean inviting the companionship of some master mind, who comes day by day without interruption to unfold to us some great subject which he has made his own; he speaks to us just as lowly or as fast as we choose; it may be only for three-quarters of an hour a day, but we never shut him out or declare we have no time to listen to him any more than we should think of admitting that we have no time for our regular daily spiritual devotions. And similarly we shall give ourselves a short moment or two to gather up what he has been saying to us. If reading

is to be a systematic training and discipline, it must be, of course, regular, but also determined by the choice and pursuit of a definite subject; at the very start we have to guard ourselves against the snare of skimming first one and then another of the latest books, now on one subject, now on another, without connection or coherence.

All this may be trite and familiar enough to you. I do not apologise for emphasising our duty. We have our Church Reading Society; we have our branches of the Central Society for Sacred Study; they supply just the opportunity and encouragement we need, if we desire practical suggestion and mutual support. I know I am repeating what I have earnestly impressed upon those whom we have ordained to join in our strenuous enterprise. In the midst of it all how easy to let our reading become fitful and then more and more difficult, of less and less importance or interest, and then wholly to cease. It is just in that invertebrate mood that lads and young men let their prayers drop or become meaningless, and then who can wonder that their faculty of praying becomes atrophied?

Finally, I suppose there are few vocations in which, for better for worse, a man's mind is submitted more constantly and openly to the judgment of his fellows than in the Ministry of Word.

Such discipline of mind, of which I speak, is bound to tell in the pulpit, in exposition, in exhortation, in doctrine; it brings to bear the right judgment which views things in right proportion and emphasises the right things. I expect there never was a time when the pulpit had a nobler opportunity or when more people were really prepared to be enlightened and encouraged to think and to think soberly; or when more questions were in the air upon which the world is asking for opinions based on sane and sound judgment.

The pulpit moreover is the special opportunity given to Ministers of Word and Sacrament to reveal themselves; no

other human being in any other calling has such an opportunity. There he is expected to declare what manner of man he is, in the things he feels deepest and believes to be most worth saying, and in the ways in which he feels and says and judges. It is there his people can get to know him and learn to trust him; so they learn to reveal themselves to him, either when he visits them or in the ordinary social intercourse of parochial life.

Indeed, systematic, true reading is the secret of much more power than we know. It is, believe me, difficult; many will tell me they can and do and must spend the time much more profitably. Do they? Beware again lest we only take the line of least resistance.

5. THE CHURCH SYSTEM AND THE CHRISTIAN SPIRIT

I have spoken much of system and organisation; of practical means and methods and measures. I pray that in anything I have said or suggested, I may not appear to be censorious or to adopt the tone of "the superior person". I share your trials and difficulties; I have my full share of shortcomings and infirmities; and I speak out of the fullness of personal experience of them and of the failures and disappointments they bring.

I have also spoken to-day of our system and work entirely as it affects ourselves and as if there were no other religious efforts or communities working in their ways for the same end. To-morrow I shall attempt to say something more fully of our attitude and relation to them.

But when all is said and done, system, organisation, methods are the body claiming to be made effective by the spirit. They are the necessary part of God's great plan,

because it was His will to work out His purpose of Redemption through human agents, and human agents must use such means and devices as are found by human experience to be best adapted for carrying out their purposes and doing the work human beings feel moved to do. To develop and perfect system and organisation, as such, we are bidden by our very calling. We shall indeed hear a good deal in the coming days about Church Reform; we shall, that is, discuss how the Church can be enabled so to organise herself, to adjust her resources of human agents and material means, as to do her work in the world more fully and more faithfully.

Yet to begin with, to go on with, to end with, we must in all ways and by all means remember that the true basis of all Church Reform and the only Church Reform that ultimately matters is the Reform of the Spirit of Church members and of the influence they exert in their time and place. The Visible Church here on earth! The test of its visibility in the last resort is not the uniformity of its structure nor the correspondence of rites and ceremonies in one country with those of another, of one age with those of another, but the uniformly higher motive which imparts life and truth and power to all that those who are Christ's do and say and think and will; the correspondence between their profession and their practice. The Church is visible here on earth just so far as the fruits of the Spirit are truly manifest, which are these: love, joy, peace, longsuffering.

And the work we are called and pledged and enabled to do is unique. We ourselves are to be the means of carrying on to its end the Life and Work of the Lord Jesus Christ for mankind; we ourselves—that is, intellect, will, emotion, informed by His Spirit.

And if we wonder and doubt what that means, whether it is all "mere words", St. Paul comes to our aid: it means "let that mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus", who thought not even His own Godhead a right to be

asserted (which was, mark you, the devil's repeated temptation: "If thou be the Son of God"), to escape the ordeal of His mission, but became obedient.

Not the assertion of personal rights, but the sense of obligation to corporate life.

The bare assertion of rights inevitably carries with it the conflict of personal interests; and in that conflict, upon that basis, there is no other tribunal to appeal to, no other sanction to compel a decision save personal material force. It all comes to proving whether I or the other is personally strong enough to exact what I or he demand.

The license of this individualism has spread far in many directions during the last hundred years, and it has gone deep. If it has infected not less the Church and Church membership, now is the call to members of the Church to prove that we do stand primarily, before everything else, for the principle of definite recognised obligation to corporate life, as the leaven which shall purge the community of the corrupting, dissolving effect of insubordinate individualism.

It may have been just, as well as expedient, to assert that "Jack is as good as his master", but, remember, that may only tell us that, after all, Jack is a poor creature. It is more righteous to determine that both Jack and his master shall each be as good as they might be to the end that all the Jacks and all the masters may fulfil the purpose of the corporate life, which both together combine to mould and to develop.

I say that the Church of Christ, by the very first principle of her Master's Mission and example, is intended to bear witness to the reality, to the purifying, uplifting effect upon human society of the claim of the higher purpose transcending all personal rights. And the reality of such witness will be recognised by the reality with which members of the Church, each and all, high and low, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, gladly obey the obligation of doing

what the Church sets them to do, in worship as well as in work; each and all caring very much that the standard of worship and of work is not in their own generation and place lowered. There will always be abundant reasons ready enough, suggested by human fancy and infirmity, to dull our enthusiasm and impair the sense of obligation. Such reasons are but the perpetual challenge to the pledge we have given "with our mouth and consent openly before the Church".

And once more, "the Church", so St. Clement of Alexandria declared, "is the only thing in the world which always rejoices". Our heritage is the serene assurance of those who fight on the side of goodness; God's Cause we are convinced must in the end prevail; it will prevail in our own time and place, provided we contend as soldiers worthy of the standard under which we live to fight. St. Paul therefore tells us that our life is one unbroken festival. The life in Christ is a feast, if it be kept not in the leaven of malice and wickedness, but of sincerity and truth: εἰλικρίνεια, the clear, distinct motives, marshalled like a body of trained soldiers, obedient to one supreme command; καὶ ἀλήθεια, reality, the correspondence between what we profess and what we practise. It is ours to be so convinced of the truth of the sanctions of right-doing that honour, supreme interest, gladness, all compel us to reject the pleas of lower aims and mean excuses.

Sincerity and truth: yes, insincerity, dishonesty, falsehood, most surely break up any community. "Thou shalt not take in vain the Name of the Lord Thy God", invoked to witness and seal our promises of obedience, "for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain." Disruption and failure are the sure retribution of dishonest devices, of playing tricks with conscience, of untruth.

Straight and difficult is the way that lies before us in the coming years. The forces of reaction from an abnormal unity will be strong. Many have declared that during the

war they have felt in honour and interest bound to subordinate their feelings in order to strengthen the larger cause which involves all that each holds dear. Does that mean that after the war they will let themselves go and follow wherever passion and prejudice and party spirit carry them? God forbid. In the face of the perils, the anxious problems, the difficult times that are awaiting us, God grant us members of His Church grace to see and to follow the Heavenly Vision, and to translate the Vision into the realities and problems of the workaday world by self-sacrifice, by self-subordination, by obedience to the will of Him who works through human wills so far as they work together for good. So shall it be ours by our example to bring our fellow-countrymen to the conviction of "the more excellent way".

6. REUNION

I pass now to consider some aspects of the subject of our relations towards other religious bodies. I do this in a natural sequence of thought. I have already tried to examine some of the main features of our own work, of our methods, of our equipment, and to be guided by some results towards the discernment of perils and weaknesses, simply that we may attack the problem given to us with better effect. So then because ours is spiritual work and our struggle is with spiritual evil and our purpose is spiritual renewal and reconstruction, it is natural to ask whether we are able to co-operate with other spiritual forces for good, whether we make efforts to do so, what form such co-operation can in practice take.

But, further, I have another definite object in view. I am anxious to discover whether in this sphere of Church

life and activity, our Diocese of Southwark, it has been possible to give effect in any way to the recommendations and resolutions passed at the Conference of 242 Bishops of the Anglican Communion held in 1908 at Lambeth. I sometimes hear the cry, "Why do not the Bishops speak with authority?" "Why do they not give us a lead?" In raising such cries, let us be careful not to overlook occasions on which such lead has been given; or, rather, let us begin by asking ourselves whether or not we really mean "Why do not the Bishops give an authoritative ruling in accordance with the view I have formed and nothing can alter?"

Moreover, I have another reason for taking counsel with my Diocese on the subject. If the Lambeth Conference is summoned to meet again in 1918, I should be glad to think that some information could be placed at the disposal of the Conference, declaring what results or lack of results had followed from endeavouring to act upon the recommendations of 1908.

To answer somewhat tartly to the whole body of questions, "I have nothing to do with Schismatics", manifestly ignores the scope of the questions asked, betrays the spirit of the luckless man who thanked God he was not as other men are, and, even so far as it goes, is grotesquely untrue. Who can declare that he has nothing to do with Schismatics, when he goes with them to the polling booth and with their co-operation makes the laws under which we govern ourselves? "Nothing to do with Schismatics", when he depends upon them, so far as he can tell, and whether he likes it or not, for the protection of property, for the healing of diseases, for the security of life, and for the administration of justice? When through their toil and sweat he is provided, for all he knows, with the necessities of life, its comforts, its facilities and amenities? He cannot conscientiously live in South London or England, or as a citizen of the British Empire; I could not state positively what corner of the civilised world he can occupy without

serious scruple. My point, however, is not that I am ready to take advantage of an ill-considered answer, but that I desire to emphasise and keep always clear before us how much at every turn we owe to one another, and depend upon one another, whatever our differences of creed and communion. Upon every one of us is laid the obligation of gratitude to known and unknown hundreds of our fellow-countrymen; and gratitude sincerely felt and expressed goes some way towards that charity which unites and builds up common life, both secular and religious.

It is evident that many incumbents have endeavoured to take practical steps to carry out the resolutions before us. In some parishes or deaneries I gather the effects have been vague and fitful. In some few there is very real and definite co-operation in dealing with matters affecting social and moral welfare; for instance, in coming to a common understanding and working on the same lines in regard to charitable relief; in dealing with unemployment; in trying to promote a better observance of Sunday. In one parish certainly the combination of members of our Church, of the Roman Communion, and of the Nonconformists has prevented the opening of the theatre there on Sunday. Again, there is evidence of some common understanding in the range of education and care of the young, as, for instance, a joint Care Committee of the three Schools of the London County Council, of the Church of England, and the Roman Catholics; or opportunities of co-operation have been given by appointing the incumbent of a parish and a Nonconformist minister joint examiners of religious education in the Council School.

Less definite and less encouraging are the attempts to organise and carry on meetings for the purpose of mutual study or discussion or united prayer. Attempts have been made and have evidently been carefully planned. There is evidence of endeavours to start a combined Clerical Reading Society, to hold Conferences for Bible study, to arrange

common courses of Sunday School lectures and Evidential lectures; more rarely to join in devotional meetings.

The war appears to have given the first and only opportunity of carrying out in practice what is suggested by the third Resolution (No. 78). In one parish at least a week of combined intercession for the Nation was carefully arranged and carried out. The war has also promoted more actively united efforts in the way of open-air meetings and joint letters to the people of the neighbourhood, with the object of deepening the spirit of seriousness and self-discipline and emphasising the need of repentance and prayer.

The general result seems to give us cause to be thankful indeed for the good-will and friendliness and the sense of co-operation, even if it is undefined, which have been steadily growing between our own workers and others who are not members of our own Communion. It is surely something to have realised that in the great fight against sin and all conditions of life which foster and spread evil we need and we welcome all the forces that make for righteousness and tend to strengthen spiritual self-respect. I have also gained the impression that there is a more general appreciation of the fact that a "Church of England", that is to say, our one guarantee that in every parish in the land spiritual ministrations are provided, and religious influences are brought to bear on the life of the people, is not to be withdrawn or impaired with a light heart or from secondary motives; rather such a guarantee is being recognised as a source of strength and help to the work of other religious bodies.

But those who have looked for results in the direction of some more positive reconciliation which shall impress the critics or opponents of our spiritual work with the unity of all who profess and call themselves Christians or lift the load which burdens the conscience of many who deplore the patent exclusiveness of Christian bodies, are dis-

appointed. Such efforts as have been made, we are told, are fitful; there is no true continuity in them; they depend upon personal temperament; or we learn very commonly that our own workers are so busy and so much preoccupied with the round of duty in our crowded parishes that it is impossible to throw themselves with real attention into the ways and means of reconciliation which have been suggested; the question is too large and too important to be treated as a mere incident of Church life, and they find no time to take it up adequately. And, again, it has been found that study circles embracing ministers of all kinds have not prospered; there has been a feeling of unreality about them; and, whether it be the fault of our own Clergy or not, the attendance of Nonconformist ministers has soon become very irregular; generally speaking, these study circles seem to dwindle and die of inanition; there is lacking some kind of inward force to give them true substance.

Let us this afternoon go into the subject more closely. I think it is important we should safeguard ourselves against some dangers to which any disappointing experience exposes us. We shall certainly avoid keeping up a pretence if we feel it is only a pretence. We shall with no less earnestness guard ourselves against the spirit of hopelessness, which hardens into mere exclusiveness and finally stifles all desire or prayer for unity. We forget too often the story and the fate of that temper of exclusiveness of which Novatianism is the pathetic and most striking instance. It is the easiest line to take; it is therefore self-indulgent and self-centred; it naturally leads to mere sectarianism, and in the end must prove barren and unfruitful.

I am inclined to think that we may do well first of all to ask whether the past history of conscious attempts at reconciliation gives us warning and encouragement. At any rate, we might do worse this afternoon than put ourselves and our own attempts into the perspective of the picture which history presents. Obviously we cannot study the

picture in detail. May I only try to bring out some of the main points?

I say nothing of occasions and questions, and ways of handling and mishandling them, which estranged and divided Christians in all the centuries; and then of the endeavours to retrace their steps as soon as they have discovered that, after all, they had in view the same goal. "How it has been with the world", so writes Dante, "since this seamless robe of Christ first became rent by the talon of covetousness, we may read; would to God it were not ours to see! O race of mankind! in what distress of storm and loss and shipwreck must ye of necessity be tossed, you who are become like a monster of many heads, struggling contrary ways." [1]

It will be my object, rather, to try to get some guidance for ourselves from projects of reconciliation outlined or attempted since the time of the rent in the Western Church. Sometimes it has been hoped that a reconciliation was possible between Lutherans, Calvinists, Anglicans, with each other and with Rome; sometimes the project has been limited to the purpose of combining all who are not Roman into an alliance.

From the very first, one clear line of procedure seems to have been suggested to all who engaged in such projects, from whatever side the attempt was made. It has been thought practical and sensible to examine how far agreement exists upon "Essentials" or "Fundamentals", and to leave in abeyance disputed questions which might be cleared up when such agreement has been established.

The most conspicuous instance of this procedure was the famous Conference of Ratisbon in 1541. Everything seemed to combine to encourage the hope of reconciliation. Protestants were deeply anxious not to break the visible unity of the Church; a large portion of the Roman Church was protesting as vigorously as any Protestant against the abuses

[1] *De Monarchia*, I. c. xvi.

of Church life and doctrine and was crying out for reform. The Pope himself ardently desired a successful result of the Conference, and proved the sincerity of this desire by choosing Gaspar Contarini, already actively promoting a general reform of the Church, as his representative. On the other side appeared the most temperate and the most judicious divines, with "the pacific Bucer" and "the gentle Melanchthon". It was agreed that the question of the supremacy of the Pope should be presented for discussion last, and that they should begin with the Fundamentals of the faith. "In a short time", we are told, "the whole assembly came to an agreement on the four important articles of the nature of man, original sin, redemption, and even justification." "When I observed this unanimity of opinion," wrote Cardinal Pole to Contarini, "I felt a delight such as no harmony of sounds could have inspired; not only because I see the approach of peace and concord, but *because these articles are the foundation of the whole Christian faith.* They appear, it is true, to treat of divers things, of faith, works and justification; upon the latter, however—justification—all the rest are grounded; and I wish you joy and thank God that the divines of both parties have agreed upon that."

I need not elaborate the story of disappointment. What had been discussed and agreed upon by partisans eager for reconciliation in conference had to be confirmed and carried out in the world of prejudice and policy. Luther saw nothing in the agreement but a "patchwork". The Pope was not so frank, but whilst himself neither approving nor disapproving, declared that others were of opinion (referring especially to Cardinals San Marcello and Caraffa) that "if the meaning of this agreement be in conformity with the Catholic faith, the words might be more clear and precise".

And more effectively still, political considerations destroyed the project. It was too dangerous to too many interests concerned to encourage a project for the unity of

Christendom, if that would unite the Empire and give the Emperor preponderating power!

It is one of the ironies of history that the Conference of Ratisbon ended in the Council of Trent and that final declaration that "the Church of Rome is the visible Church; that the visible Church is the true Church; extra ecclesiam nulla salus".

I shall now refer to another instructive instance: the scheme proposed by De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, for bringing about the union of the more regularly constituted churches under a federal episcopacy. The abhorrence of Rome to any federal episcopacy would in the last resort have destroyed any hope of success for the scheme. But, apart from that, his proposals only led to the definite repudiation of any distinction between essentials and non-essentials. The Archbishop had maintained that "(1) there might be an union between the Church of Rome and the Protestant heretics, they both agreeing *in articulis fundamentalibus*: (2) he who holdeth and believeth the fundamental articles, although he doth not hold the rest, is not therefore separated from the Church but is united to it in the faith; because that only the fundamental and essential articles are necessary to salvation, the rest are matters of controversy." For these suggestions, after his death, execution was done upon his body, his picture and his books.[1]

Let me refer to another instance on another side.[2]

[1] Somers, *Collection*, vol. iv. p. 576.

[2] I do not suppose I am entitled to quote our own James I.'s letter as a "project" (see Casaubon's *Epist. 710 ad Cardin. Perronium*). James I. is there stated to give his unqualified approval to the dictum, "rerum absolute necessariarum ad salutem non magnum esse numerum. Quare existimat ejus Majestas, nullam ad ineundam concordiam breviorem viam fore quam si diligenter separentur necessaria a non-necessariis, et ut de necessariis conveniat, omnis opera insumatur; in non-necessariis libertati Christianae locus detur. Simpliciter necessaria Rex appellat, quae vel expresse Verbum Dei praecipit credenda faciendave vel ex Verbo Dei necessaria consequentia vetus Ecclesia elicuit.—At quae ex institutione hominum, praeter verbum Dei quamvis pie et prudenter, pro tempore in usum Ecclesiae sunt recepta,

George Calixt, the Lutheran, adopted as his basis the distinction between essentials and non-essentials. He made the Apostles' Creed together with the interpretation of the first three, sometimes the first five, centuries the test. The "Colloquy of Cassel", held in 1661, after his death, was the barren result of this effort; he himself made no impression on the Roman Communion, and incurred the suspicion of the "high" Lutherans. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how any of the strict Lutherans could have entered into a scheme which formulated a faith of *credenda*.

On similar lines were conceived two other projects: one by a faithful pastor of Orange, Jean de Serres, who published, in 1597, an "Apparatus ad fidem Catholicam sive de principiis religionis Christianae communi omnium sensu semper et ubique ratis". He contended that all Christians, Romans as well as others, had always retained "the essentials of the Gospels", and with them the way of salvation. He was labelled a prevaricator.

The other was the scheme of John Dury, who died in 1680, and devoted his long life to the attempt to reunite the Lutherans and the Reformed Church. He would not interfere with the several confessions, which might retain their local and historical value; but "the essentials" of Christianity were to be found in the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. John Matthiae, Bishop of Strengnes, in Sweden, adopted his

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mutari molliri antiquari posse existimat: et quod Pius II. de coelibatu Clericorum dicebat *bono olim jure sancitum, meliore nunc iri antiquatum*, id, in genere, de plerisque observationibus Ecclesiasticis, extra Verbum Dei introductis, posse usurpari Rex credit. Si ad decidendas hodiernas controversias haec distinctio adhiberetur et jus divinum a positivo candide separaretur, non videtur de iis quae sunt absolute necessaria, inter pios et moderatos viros longa aut acris contentio futura." Casaubon's letter was a reply to one from Cardinal Perron; I have not been able to discover what Cardinal Perron thought of James I.'s theory of the basis of reconciliation.

principles, and published a book expounding them, which he called *Rami olivae septentrionales*.[1] His opinions were condemned as odious, and he was driven from his bishopric.

But much more significant without doubt were the efforts of Jean Alphonse Turretin, who has been rightly called the second founder of the Genevan Church and the author of its second Reformation.

Jean Turretin was a man of wide outlook, gained by extensive travel and intimate acquaintance with many leading minds; he was brought into touch in England with Bishop Burnet, and formed an intimate acquaintance with Archbishop Wake, who was working out his remarkable attempt at the comprehension of foreign Churches upon the principle of Fundamentals. Moreover, Turretin maintained a regular correspondence with leading members of the Roman Communion, Cardinals Quirini and Passionei, and particularly with Magliabecchi, librarian of Florence. He became pastor in Geneva in 1695, professor of ecclesiastical history in 1697, and afterwards of theology, and carried on his work in these offices for forty years.

Turretin's analysis of the differences among Christians is instructive:

"A physician visits an hospital and examines the cases of the various patients; he prescribes the remedies proper for them and promises to return on the morrow. But they immediately on his departure, instead of simply following his injunctions, fall to discussing the lineaments of his countenance, the tones of his voice, the peculiarities of his mien and gestures, the fashion of his dress, the form and substance even of the phials in which their medicines are sent; from converse to dispute, from dispute they come to blows. To whom might be applied this counsel: 'Wretches!

[1] See also his letter *ad Regem Suediæ*, quoted in full in the Collection of "Testimonia pro Concordia inter Lutheranos et Reformatos instituenda", made by Turretin to form an appendix to his *Nubes Testium*.

first suffer yourselves to be healed, then settle your quarrels'."

Turretin saw from the first that before any agreement on "fundamentals" could be discussed it would be necessary to arrive at some understanding of what constituted a Fundamental. So he proceeds to define Fundamentals and lay down certain principles for distinguishing Fundamentals. You would not expect me now to discuss his definition of these principles. The point that is relevant to what we have in mind is that Turretin in applying his principles concludes that no certain number of fundamentals can be assigned; that no communion can take place between those who differ in fundamentals; that the difference between the Genevan Church and the Church of Rome is in fundamentals; that it is not so between the Genevan Church and Lutherans. It is to be noted that differences touching Lutheran ceremonies, the use of images, of exorcism in baptism, of private confession, he regarded as unessential, "because they concern rather the modes of divine things than the divine things themselves", and also "because authorities may be cited on either side, as Chrysostom and Augustine, respecting free will and grace".

It is most instructive to observe that when the definition of fundamentals came to be made and applied with a view to some scheme of comprehension, the definition was found to be so wide and vague that the Unitarian or "Humanitarian" could equally well claim to be included.

The two movements in England connected with the names of Archbishop Wake[1] in the seventeenth century and Archdeacon Blackburne[2] in the eighteenth only indirectly

[1] See especially *D'un projet d'union entre les églises Gallicane et Anglicane: correspondance entre Wake Archevêque de Cantorbéri et Dupin, docteur de Sorbonne.*" I would refer readers particularly to Archbishop Wake's letter quoted in this little book by M. Jablowski, dated May 22, 1719.

[2] See *Four Discourses to the Clergy of Cleveland* (1767–1773).

relate to the subject before us; but they both travelled along the same line of defining, to begin with, the essentials, and basing on an agreed definition some structure or as was even called an ecclesiastical constitution calculated to "comprehend all that hold the fixed and fundamental principles and points of faith in which all sincere and serious Protestants of every denomination are unanimously agreed". It will be noted that all hope or occasion of direct reconciliation with Rome seemed to be "nationally, ecclesiastically, as well as theologically impossible".

I think I have given illustration enough to show that there has always been a fallacy underlying the attempt to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials, and to proceed upon the assumption that the distinction will clear the ground for reconciliation. Even if Scripture itself be taken as the only test of Church membership, it is soon found that to different persons of "varying circumstances and endowments", to use Turretin's phrase, fundamental articles are not identical. What one person accepts as true according to the letter another interprets and finds spiritually edifying in an allegorical or mystical sense. A passage which one regards as an *argumentum ad hominem* is to another the declaration of a universal doctrine.[1]

[1] The illustrations I have given are the outcome chiefly of a study of Turretin's *Nubes testium pro moderato et pacifico de rebus theologicis judicio et instituenda inter Protestantes concordia* (Geneva, 1719), together with Scultetus' *Iterata Ecclesiæ reformatæ invitatio ad pium in doctrina fidei consensum occasione Jurianæ consultationis facta* (Jena, 1697). The interesting preface to this book was written by J. Guilielmus Baierus; in it he declares that such projects remind him of what the doctors call "a palliative",—"more likely to be the cause of disorder quam vera et quam ætas ferat vulnerum Ecclesiæ sanatio".

It might be well if some one were to edit the very interesting "Collectio Testimoniorum Scripturæ Sacræ, veterum patrum, præcipuorum Reformatorum, aliorumque Theologorum et virorum doctorum, cum ex Lutheranis tum ex reformatis de articulis fundamentalibus et tolerantia," which was made by Turretin and appended to his *Nubes Testium*.

The truth is that if any communion—Lutheran, Reformed, Roman, Anglican—considers that through Scripture or Scripture and Articles or Authority even the Fundamentals in their creeds are and must be regarded as absolutely certain and only certain in the sense in which they severally have declared them, the question of reconciliation, treated along the lines we have examined, cannot even be raised. Men have been misled by the immutability and uniformity of divine truths into attributing the same invariability and uniformity to their own apprehension of them. If human faculties were fully adequate to embrace these living truths, no doubt we might all alike distinguish invariably and uniformly the essential from the non-essential of the revelation transmitted to us through those human faculties. But we know human faculties are limited; human judgments on divine things very various. And troubles begin as soon as certain fundamental facts or doctrines are assumed, and then those who interpret them otherwise are regarded in things spiritual just as they would be regarded in things intellectual if they could not or would not accept the axioms of mathematics. If we are unable to accept the axiom that two and two for ordinary purposes make four, we are liable to be regarded as mentally deficient; if we condemn as spiritually deficient those who cannot accept our own dogmatic statements we really mean that those statements are the same in kind as the axiom that two and two make four. But the whole history as well as the fact of Christian controversy is the standing proof that the dogmatic statements of the Christian faith are essentially of a different order. When once the mind had grasped the truth that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles it was impossible to argue about it, nor could the mind conceive it as ever arguable; for argument and controversy acknowledge that there is something to be said on some ground of probability on other sides of a question. No one in his senses would dream of

arguing with a man out of his senses, whatever else you might feel disposed to do to him.

But, further: it is fallacious to hope for mathematical definitions of "Fundamentals" upon which we shall be agreed, because faith is a practical principle—a power within us which, so far as it is exercised and active, refuses to allow us to acquiesce in limits or definitions; it is the venture of our limited faculties out beyond their limitations.

> So in man's self arise
> August anticipations, symbols, types
> Of a dim splendour ever on before
> In that eternal circle life pursues.
> For men begin to pass their nature's bound,
> And find new hopes and cares which fast supplant
> Their proper joys and griefs; they grow too great
> For narrow creeds of right and wrong, which fade
> Before the unmeasured thirst for good; while peace
> Rises within them ever more and more.

If "Fundamentals" could be defined with this mathematical certainty, for spiritual purposes they would not be worth accepting.

But I am at once told the true believer can be discerned by certain faculties with which he is endowed: he is enlightened; there is a certain spiritual εὐστοχία which enables him to arrive at the truth, and this εὐστοχία is pre-eminently the gift of the Church of Christ, as a Corporate Being forming, holding, transmitting truths revealed to It; in It the true believer finds his own limitations enlarged, his uncertainties directed, his disagreements reconciled.

But this does not advance us far; this higher faculty does not always testify alike; and Dante himself, as we have just heard, has deplored the rending of the Seamless Robe by the enlightened themselves. There are divers Christian Communions, and in these divers Communions spiritual insight perceives and is convinced of contradictory pro-

positions. Moreover, the claim itself to such unerring spiritual insight is made not only by Romans and Anglicans and all others who profess and call themselves Christian, but by Mohammedans and Hindus.

To what kind of conclusion then does this side of my inquiry lead me? In a few words I should say something like this. The essentials of the Christian Faith as I hold them, and hold them without wavering, become convincing to others just so far as my practice seems in some measure, perhaps in some new way, to interpret or express to others the Mind of Christ; the essentials of the Christian Faith, as others outside our own Communion hold them, become convincing to me just so far as their practice seems to interpret or express in some other measure the Mind of Christ. But this implies that we do not begin with defining essentials in order to arrive at some common basis of practice, but rather with acting consistently, putting steadily into practice what we severally hold to be true; and the essentiality of what we severally believe, as distinct from what is non-essential, we reveal to one another not at the beginning but at the end of the process.

Another line of procedure with a view to reconciliation has been suggested and adopted from time to time; the attempt has often been made to construct agreement upon the basis of an agreed organisation, ecclesiastical constitution, ceremonial and modes of worship. We are quite certain as human beings to be attracted by the idea of an agreement which can be seen on the face of it; we are always impressed by organisation, by the thought that numbers of different people in different places do the same things in the same way, and these things can be seen and measured. We forget the old warning of St. Gregory, "in una fide nihil officit sanctae ecclesiae diversa consuetudo", and we fail to appreciate the force of what St. Augustine teaches in his treatise against Julian, "alia sunt de quibus inter se aliquando doctissimi atque optimi regulae catho-

licae defensores, salva fidei compage, non consonant". The result is that we exaggerate our differences with one another because we measure those differences by the things that are seen.

I remember once hearing a lecturer draw out the theme of that wider recognition of one another by different States which has been a significant growth of the last century. He showed how only a comparatively short time ago the constituted monarchies declined to admit into the community of nations States of less regular forms of government. If a congress had been convened to settle *a priori* what should be the essential qualifications of a State properly so called, in its laws, constitution, and policy, disappointment and failure would inevitably have attended the result. In the course of the last hundred years a wiser and more humane practice, the result of many circumstances, material and moral, characteristic of the activities of modern life, has brought about a wider fellowship of nations. In spite of the shock dealt in this last year to our faith in the comity of nations and in the principle of recognising the individuality and worth of differing peoples, we may still believe that those States which count themselves in the advance of civilisation or claim to be its only exponents must be aware or will soon learn that complete domination, just as much as isolation, must always prejudice the diffusion of their own principles, forms, and practices.

I am not disposed to press the analogy. But for my part it is impossible for me to believe that this characteristic tendency which has been steadily operating in one great department of human life, the tendency to recognise a community of nations differing widely in the systems under which they live, cannot or will not make itself felt in the relations of religious communities to one another. We have seen the possibility, to a great extent a growing reality, of mutual recognition, even of sense of brotherhood, between States whose whole history and outlook and aspirations as

well as their external forms and constitution appear to differ fundamentally. Is the same thing inconceivable in the relations of religious communities to one another? Is it inconceivable that the process by which this has come to be is the prophecy of the true kind of brotherhood between religious communities which we may hope and strive to express, without either claiming superiority or jurisdiction, without passing judgment upon practices, constitution, or modes of worship? The only limit of such a brotherhood is the limit set by any Communion which, by overbearing claims, by seeking to impose itself upon all others, by narrow definitions framed unconsciously or consciously in its own interest, in excommunicating others really excommunicates itself.

"We desire the name Catholic and Universal Church", so was Jurieu's maxim laid down, "to be diffused over all sects; we desire to have true members in all those communities which have not overthrown the fundamentals of religion, although they may have been so far separated from one another that in turn they smite one another with the thunderbolt of excommunication." But those who use the thunderbolt do not accept the maxim; it is not a question with them of repelling from communion but from the pale of Christianity. They set themselves up as judges of what are the Fundamentals universally and necessarily, and extend the definition so as to include all the articles of their own creed and to support their own exclusive claim.

The tendency towards centralised authority, the exclusive claim to that centralised authority, the demand for submission, not fellowship, repeats and renews itself again and again in the history of Continental Europe, political and religious; it is the legacy of the Roman Empire and Caesarism. Against this tendency the whole history of the English people has been one long continual contention; we have worked out our destiny in opposing or counteracting it; in history our resistance, conscious or unconscious, to

this particular kind of continentalism has been our sole "reason for existence" as a nation. I cannot stay now to enforce this; perhaps it may seem an exaggerated generalisation. I do, however, affirm that from the very first we have stood to be a particular and National Church within the Catholic Church, this particular Church of our England working out a spiritual character and a destiny true to the deepest needs and instincts of the English people. So it was that Gregory urged upon the missionaries he sent, and particularly upon our first Archbishop, "not to copy slavishly the Mother Church, but to choose from the Gallican Church or the Britons what in each is best suited to the needs of the people". The daughter was to grow up preserving her own character, her uniqueness, and shaping her own career. You may remember the often-quoted passage from Prof. Freeman: "The English Church was more strictly than any other the child of the Church of Rome, and had always kept a strong reverence for her parent. But the Church of England had always held a greater independence than the other Churches of the West, and the kings and the assemblies of the nation had never given up their power in Ecclesiastical matters."

"During this period (that is, up to the Norman Conquest)", so wrote Bishop Collins, "the English Bishops made their profession of belief in the Catholic faith and their promise of obedience to their own metropolitan and to nobody else; and although the Pope tried increasingly to draw their metropolitans into closer relations with himself, the fact remains that the affairs of the English Church were controlled by our Fathers in God *and by them alone*."

Have I overtaxed your patience by emphasising truths and principles repeated again and again, and familiar to us? In clinging to them, in training ourselves to think steadfastly in terms of them, lies the strength of our Church work and the power of making our system known as the truest and best fitted for the spiritual work all religious

communities are committed to do. I admit that our principles are not easy to formulate, nor does our system appear to be systematic. Our principles make a more exacting demand upon self-control and steadiness and balance of judgment than those of any other religious system which I have studied. The hasty, the impatient, the superficial, all who long for certitude, for visible authority, or what they define as definiteness, and all who indolently resign themselves to mere direction, or, on the other hand, all who are carried away by the desire to break away from all standards of authority except those which their own opinion or fancy set up—all these and their kindred spirits will necessarily find it difficult to grasp the meaning or appreciate the power and the special opportunity of our Church of England,—national in character and temperament and modes of work and worship; primitive, catholic, continuous in her insistence upon ancient Order—her ministry not self-appointed but transmitted in due order without a break—in the insistence upon ancient Creed—Christianity as set forth by Apostles—in the insistence upon traditional, time-honoured worship—prayer and praise kept true to the spirit and tradition of modes of worship, which in East and West have satisfied most fully at their best moments the aspirations and longings of Christian worshippers. We must all agree, I say, that untrained minds and impatient hearts find it difficult to accept or understand such a system; and the difficulty of understanding and accepting is exaggerated because we seem to do our work cumbrously and slowly and do not claim to make a great show of organised authority. We are fully conscious of our blunders and weaknesses and shortcomings.

But nothing that I have said discourages me or dissuades me from believing that our system, because it is the most difficult on the face of it to work, is most worth carrying out, and our ideal because it is most difficult of attainment gives us therefore the strongest guarantee of the reality and

permanence of the work which guided by it we undertake. The more whole-heartedly and bravely and, above all, honestly we combine to uphold our system and to interpret it, the more likely are we to understand it ourselves and appreciate its strength, and therefore the more likely are we to win the confidence and co-operation of those who do not come under it.

So then I say, in our relations with those who are not professedly with us, by all means let us go forward along the lines of mutual service and mutual understanding and mutual conference and good-will and united spiritual efforts where experience may have shown to us that this can be done sincerely and without reserves. I have very little fear of the risk of compromising ourselves or giving away the principles upon which we at any rate claim to stand and which give us our distinctive character.

There I know you may interrupt me and cry out: "Yes, but the root of the difficulty lies in the fact that our character as a Church is not distinctive; neither we nor others know exactly how or where we stand." And then the next unfortunate step is to struggle to put one or another aspect of Church life or school of thought not only in power, but in sole possession.

At the close of the Last Supper—so St. Luke has recorded—when the union and fellowship of disciples in and through their Master might have been felt to be most real and palpable, immediately there arose also a contention among them as to which of them *seemed to be* greater —the dominant spirit. I need not recall the tender but searching rebuke, telling them and us that in that Union there can be no emulation or rivalry save the rivalry of doing and being the best of which we ourselves are capable and serving our rivals to enable them to be better, of rejoicing to see another doing better what one has done so imperfectly (which I presume is what St. Paul meant by the charity which "rejoices with the truth").

So, then, before we begin to talk or even to pray about Unity or reconciliation with those outside ourselves, the first essential is to rid our own household of the temper of unworthy contention, to dismiss the idea of party government or party politics as the true or even natural characteristic of the life of the Church of England. It is an idea borrowed from political life, and the analogy is quite misleading. The conditions under which the principle of party politics works and is applied in parliamentary life are not present in the life and government of the Church. In political life the principle for which one or other party stands is always being applied first to one set of circumstances as they arise, then to another, and there is a regular appeal to the electorate to determine which party for the time being is to apply its principles. But, even so, when the emergency is so great and overwhelms so entirely all considerations or interests other than the very existence of the community itself, the parties are merged and unite all their forces in one supreme effort and purpose. An emergency not less tremendous is always confronting our National Church. We wrestle not with flesh and blood; ours is the perpetual struggle with all the forces of sin and evil. Upon us, as a National Church, rests a responsibility imposed upon no other religious community, of combating those forces everywhere throughout the land with the spiritual weapons put into our hands. Everything must be subordinated to the purpose of fighting the common enemy and making spiritual advance. I say, then, before all things rid our minds of all the ideas associated with political Party Government; rid our hearts of all devilish suggestions of belonging to a dominant party. If these were days when anyone could presume to speak any word that implied counsel to journalism, I should boldly say rid Church newspapers and with them Church organisation of the spirit of party politics. Not that I dispute the inestimable value of what party politics and parliamentary govern-

ment have achieved in their right place in building up the institutions and the free life of our land; far from it. My repeated contention is that to find a place for it in the work and thought of the Church argues so narrow and low a view of what the office and work of the Church is that parties are quite certain to become mere partisans, to look, that is, with suspicion upon anything that comes from those who differ from them, to shut their eyes wilfully to any argument or evidence that tells against their own view, and to prefer predominance and power to the common weal. "I exhort you"—so says Ignatius to us as much as to the Philadelphians, *μηδὲν κατ' ἐρίθειαν πράσσειν ἀλλὰ κατὰ χριστομαθίαν*, "to do nothing by rule of a caucus but as learners of Christ".

Such thoughts are not irrelevant to the theme which my questions and my opening words this afternoon have suggested—our relations towards those who do not accept our Church system. I believe there is much less partisanship already on the part of Nonconformists in their attitude towards us than there was. The surest means of reforming their spirit towards us, of confirming the good understanding of what we mean and purpose, is first to confirm this good understanding with one another within our own system. May I say here how deeply thankful I am to be able to look back over these few years of work amongst you and to find the real, the deepening impression of our fellowship in a great, a well-nigh overwhelming task, to which we are all from our different points of view with our diversity of gifts devoting our powers?

It is for us, as it is for all who profess and call themselves Christian, to recognise that the ulterior object of our endeavour, our *raison d'être*, is not power nor privilege, but spirituality—the deepening and extending of the Spirit of Christ.

As we all come to recognise that, I doubt whether we

shall lay so much stress upon a unity of form or organisation which shall absorb all denominational differences. After all, the whole history of Christianity has shown one thing more clearly perhaps than any other, that particular systems or denominations have not of themselves necessarily produced the fruits of the spirit—love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; in and through those fruits I contend the Church of Christ is meant to prove its visibility. And, on the other hand, there are many who stand outside our system, or any system, who by the grace of God are true saints, and of whom we say with all our hearts, "Cum tales sitis, utinam nostri essetis!"

The solution of the age-long problem of unity, of "the divisions of Christendom", lies not along the line of exterminating denominationalism, still less of trying to discover the least or the greatest common denominator and upon that to construct some unsubstantial fabric of unity. The first step in the solution, rather, is to use denominationalism for its best and most sacred purpose. Denominationalism in itself means emphasising certain truths, honestly reached, and asserting certain principles, sincerely held, without pronouncing necessarily on other truths or judging other principles. Its true purpose is to use those truths and principles for transfiguring the workaday world, the mind and heart of mankind, with the Spirit of God. For one denomination to begin to compare itself, in competition, with another is only to prove what a poor standard it has. Let each by the evident reality of its profession, by the correspondence between profession and practice, commend itself to the conscience of all mankind, in the sight of God, tried by His standard.[1] Each will recognise its partialness, each will find itself working, on a different but not necessarily opposing line, towards one large result to

[1] τῇ φανερώσει τῆς ἀληθείας συνιστάνοντες ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς πᾶσαν συνείδησιν ἀνθρώπων ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.—2 Cor. iv. 2.

which the successes of each and all have contributed their blessing.[1]

The bond of unity, then, is forged in personal holiness. The superficial sometimes declare offhand that such a bond is unreal, a mere abstraction. To me it is the most real, the most living thing in the world, nothing less real and strong and abiding than the living witness and power of men and women using their own deepest experiences and noblest powers in supplying and responding to the deepest need of mankind, in setting forth the praise of God's Holy Name.

Brethren, I close this hour of common counsel with the words of the Epistle appointed by our Church to be read this week: "I thank my God upon every remembrance of you every time in every prayer of mine, making my prayer with joy, rejoicing over your fellowship in extending the Gospel, confident of this very thing, that He who began in you a good work will bring it to a fulfilment until the day of the Lord Jesus Christ. And this I pray that your love may be full to overflowing more and more in further knowledge and all insight, so as to approve things that transcend lower levels of thought and conduct, that ye may be sincere and without offence, till the day of Christ, being filled with the fruit of righteousness which comes through Jesus Christ, unto the Glory and Praise of God."

[1] Gladstone, *Letters on Church and Religion*, vol. ii. (p. 28): "Where has God promised that in all parts of the Apostles' fellowship the light should burn with equal purity and brightness? Even at the first the Church of Sardis was not equal in 'unity and holiness' to the Church of Ephesus, nor the Church of Ephesus to the Church of Smyrna. But St. John did not command the Christians of Sardis to join the communion of Ephesus nor both to leave their own to go into that of Smyrna; he bid them through their rulers to amend their ways and become more like their Lord."

"EXCEPT YOUR RIGHTEOUSNESS——"

Sermon in St. Alban's Church, Birmingham,
October 11, 1921.

Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.—St. Matthew v. 20.

Our Lord found a host of men accepting the standard of their time, attaining a certain degree—and by no means a low degree—of conscientiousness. Jerusalem had its fixed standard of righteousness, and demanded no more of a man than that. And the world has its fixed average standard of how good a man ought to be, and man is always tempted to say, "One cannot be better than one's world".

Then our Lord came, with His unflinching reference to God and His standard, with His deeper insight to man's power to rise to that standard, with His freedom from the trammels of convention and the fear of public opinion, and condemned the whole system of the average standard, with its limitation, hard, narrow and inhuman. He stands before the world as He saw it and knew it, and utters His call to men and women to be better than their world. "Be ye therefore not partial, not superficial, but complete. Fulfil yourselves even as your Father in heaven fulfils himself."

That is the call, or that, in a sentence, is what we mean by the venture which our Lord and Master claims of every one who is called by His name. "The witness of the Church before the World"—the phrase is often on our lips; it is, I suppose, at the back of this Congress. What is it? What does our Lord mean it to be? In every age, confronted with its own problems, challenges and opportunities, our Lord's answer is quite simple: "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye

shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven." The Church, Christian disciples, pledged members of the Church, are meant by Him to be an undying, ever-present testimony to the higher possibilities of human life, the higher thought and the braver effort, the nobler and truer associations with fellow-men, the profounder character.

Close by that little world in which our birth and circumstances have placed you and me there lies that other world, within each one of us, of nobler thoughts and aspirations and of nobler resolves. Each has its own standard of ambitions, motives, aims and endeavours. Which of the two is going to dominate us and give us our standard? Our Lord never leaves any room for hesitation or doubt in the heart of anyone who is called by His name and pledged to His service.

Yes, and then you say to me that the Church shares the fortunes, the spirit of its age, and in a base and corrupt age it has shared—nay, it has contributed very largely to the baseness and corruption. Yes, and all the while the world looks to and claims from the Church something more satisfying which its own worldiness can never supply. It hungers to see a Church that is better than the time, lifting up its voice, using all its powers against the sins and the shames and the pretences which surround and thwart human life, insisting always upon that lofty standard which the man of the world calls visionary and impracticable. What is a holy Church unless she awes the times down from their sins? Did Christ select such amiable times to come and preach love to and mercy? Human history proves over and over again that that ideal of the Church always demanded, never wholly lost sight of, sometimes more or less imperfectly realised, the hoping, struggling, blundering Church of history, has stood for courage, freedom and hope to multitudes of souls who without its witness would have despaired of ever rising above the standard of their time. That is their redemption; that is the work of redemption to

which our Lord and Master summons us, to work with Him and share with one another.

Nothing impresses me more deeply—sometimes it fills me with a lively hope and sometimes with a very deep misgiving—than the way in which in our own times all social energy and political effort work along the lines of redemption. Just notice how the whole trend of modern psychology and modern theory, methods of punishment, social reform, continued education, all rest upon the desire to liberate, to readjust and develop human instincts, capabilities, and powers, which are too often thwarted, distorted, and destroyed by the obstacles which human wills and human society set to their true growth. All of them recommend ways of enhancing human life, of freeing men and women from hatreds, fears, and suspicions, from greed, from debts to their own past. All of them agree upon the fruitfulness which must spring from a common devotion of our human imperfection and of our human ignorance towards common tasks of hard but high and exhilarating effort. So far the whole trend of human thought may fill us with hope.

But then the misgiving! Does it all mean that we shall come to believe more and more that the work of redemption can be carried out without the Church? Does it mean that your social reform—which signified the more true, the more just solution of the age-long problem of how we are all going to live together and work together and make the best of one another, not the worst, and how we are going to work not for self, but for a common good—does it mean that these things and temperance, purity, self-discipline, self-control, can all be promoted independently of the Church? Shall we come to believe more and more that in strengthening, uplifting, purifying human society and human associations the Church may be a useful ally, but is not essential? Shall we come to believe that the Church does not supply, least of all alone supplies, the motives and the sanctions which shall lift a happy human life to its very

highest level; that it does not supply, least of all alone supplies, the means to enable us to produce the fruits of the Spirit—love, joy, peace, long-suffering, goodness, faith, and self-mastery?

You and I assert and claim that without the effective witness of Christ given through the steadfastness of His Church, of His disciples, of those who are called by His name, pledged to His cause, morals will never find a sufficient warrant or a recognised authority in anything except mere expediency or the will to power. The politician will never be convinced of a higher ideal of a nation's life than of a prosperous mercantile concern of which the best that you can say is that it is more or less honestly run. Society will never find any higher purpose for its activities than mere amusement, and no nobler aim to inspire it than the dismal doctrine that life is not more than meat, and that everything matters, but nothing matters much. And religion itself will waste itself in all the surface questions about how you can improve the machinery of religious organisation, or what the forms of worship ought to be, and never compel men and women to stand face to face with those first, simplest, and deepest truths that this is God's earth and that we are His children, and that we are here from first to last to make His earth and ours the kingdom where He must reign.

But whether the signs of the times, with their true instinct for redemption, fill us with hope, or whether the tendency to depreciate the contribution which the Church has to make to human welfare warns us and fills us with misgiving, never, I believe, could it be said with less exaggeration, has the practice of Christianity been more sorely needed, or enjoyed so good a chance of meeting actual, indispensable human needs. It is an immense claim which we disciples of Christ assert, but it is supported by the cry which an exhausted, stricken world is always dinning into our ears: "If only you Christians, as the Body

of Christ, would place at the disposal of your Lord and Master the same determination, and initiative, and energy, and intelligence, which so many of you professing Christians give to self-seeking, and self-centredness, and class prejudice, and partisanship, and the passion for material success, there would be no fears about the remoulding of the future, about lifting up our tasks and problems and their solution to the very highest level we can discern for them." And until we have done that you can never escape from the lower levels of distrust and suspicion; you will never secure or inspire mutual understanding, loyal co-operation, and appreciation of the eternal values.

The time has come when we are challenged by the things which we see coming to pass to make the mind of Christ effectively known and felt; and that task has to be done, and has always to be done—such is the mystery of God's ways of working out redemption—through the sincerity, and the service, and the intelligence, and the devotion of Christian disciples. And the mind of Christ is expressed most directly in that call to us: "Except your righteousness exceed, *exceed*—go further than—you cannot qualify as citizens of this Kingdom, your service is bound to be unfruitful. Be ye therefore perfect." Completeness, thoroughness, deep reality, that is what is demanded of every one of us.

The call first of all, then, is to be more deeply dissatisfied with everything we have hitherto done and hitherto been; to be more deeply conscious of the brotherhood of sin which binds us all together, and to which every one of us has contributed alike in our own circle, and therefore to be drawn to a more complete, a more divine compassion for human failures and human wrongs; to be more convinced that your life and mine and the life of our time can only reach its right fulfilment by a deeper and more real sense of brotherhood—not a catchword or a phrase of a political programme, but the very simplest expression of

the value which those who are Christ's set upon mankind, upon every human being, and their responsibility for one another.

Then again, it is a call to go forward to newer, deeper, richer, fuller beliefs, to outgo all the old limits and distinctions, the low conceptions of service and self-sacrifice, and to be led on and on to newer ventures of faith and of courageous living, to see and know things in new ways, and to prove that we have the unsuspected powers of making all these ventures and winning through; to show our steadfastness of belief and of service just so far as we enter more completely into the spirit of Christ and win more complete consecration to His service.

I love to think of the ideal Church, the company of believers, plain men and women busily occupied with all the duties and trivialities, the interests and concerns, of every day, in the throngs and thoroughfares of daily life, exposed to all the temptations and trials that flesh is heir to, conscious of limited capacities and of limited opportunities, conscious of their littleness and their indifference and their insignificance, and yet every one alike, without distinction, admitted to receive from their Lord and Master Himself the gift of His life, and in receiving it borne on the wings of faith, and of hope, and of love, to know that I too, like the saints of God, am called and am endued to carry on the work of redeeming human life, and to find my own salvation only in saving others.

How it makes the heart glow to think of what God's earth, His gift to the children of men, must be and ought to be to Him. Then when I look around I see a mere handful of men and women who recognise the claims of almsgiving securing the resources necessary for doing the Church's work; a mere handful of men and women who give interest and time and thought to the work of the Church for the afflicted, and the distressed, and the fallen, and the drunkards, and for the teaching and educating of

the young and the shaping of the young life of the future, that our sons may grow up as the young plants, and that our daughters may be corner-stones of the social fabric.

On the other side I see a whole host of men and women, pledged members of the Church of Christ, called by their Master's name, admitted to receive the gift of His life, who receive all that their Church and their country and their birth and their circumstances have to give them, and who never seem to have learned, never seem to suppose, that the very first condition of receiving any of that, and the very first duty, is to use whatever we receive first of all for promoting the well-being of others. What they need and what we all need, if we are to make the power and the witness of the Church of Christ real and effectively felt, is to realise the fact and the meaning of our baptism, the fact and the meaning of being a communicant, admitted to my own place in the family of Christ, and there signed with the sign of service and self-sacrifice, there pledged to fight under one banner, to follow Christ wherever He may lead me; admitted to receive the gift unspeakable of His redeeming power, and to use it as He used it in the days of His flesh, not to win His own salvation, but to carry forward the work of redeeming human life, and we so using it as to express and give the witness of our fellowship in one Body.

If only every band of parochial Church Councillors—I do not call them that; I call them what they really are, the representative communicants in every parish throughout our land—if only the members of our Representative Assemblies, Rural Deaneries, Dioceses, and our Central Church Assembly make that quite real, the fact of our baptism, and the significance of being a communicant—if only they make that real to themselves and lift up their commonplace discussions and their commonplace duties to that very highest level, you may be quite certain that we should truly find, by the right judgment in all things, the

right solution of many of those problems which perplex and bewilder us, and leave us in barren controversies; and by the living testimony of our faith in the higher possibilities of human living, *i.e.* by simple, unquestioning obedience to our Master's call, we should be achieving what it will never be given to us to achieve by mere industry, by mere wealth, by mere enterprise, by mere skill, throughout every parish in our dear England; we should be making of England a truer home of the things that are true, and lovely, and honourable, and of good report.

THE CHURCH IN THE WORLD

Sermon in St. Andrew's Church, Plymouth,
September 25, 1923.

Arise and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do.—Acts ix. 6.

I

Ruskin added to the last volume of *Modern Painters* an epilogue with the title "Peace". What most exercised his mind and heart as he prophesied about the true and false ways of finding the way of Peace was "the infidelity", as he called it, of the age in which he lived—unbelief in God and therefore unbelief in man: "Unique, unheard of", he says, "in human history, because no nation before has declared boldly that its religion is good for show but would not work. Over and over again it has happened that nations have denied their gods bravely; but we English have put the matter in an entirely new light. There is a Supreme Ruler—no question of it; only He cannot rule. His Orders won't work. He will be quite satisfied with euphonious repetition of them. To execute them would be too dangerous under existing circumstances. He certainly never contemplated *that*."

That was written fifty years ago when Ruskin felt all the pressure of the material expansion which marked and sprang from the extraordinary conquests achieved by man's intellect; he saw at the same time that the Christian Commonwealth was failing to meet its liabilities; it had not kept pace with that expansion in activity, in intelligence, in enterprise, in earnestness. He foresaw that along that way the nations were heading for desolation and suicide. "So far as you desire to possess rather than to give, so far as you look for power to command instead of to bless,

so far as your prosperity seems to you to issue out of contest and rivalry of any kind with other men and other nations, so long as the hope before you is for supremacy instead of love, so long as you are serving the Lord of all that is least—Death: and you shall win Death's Crown with the worm coiled in it."

We have witnessed the catastrophe; we believe we have so far survived it. But we, too, like every generation, are being challenged with the question, "How do you, how will you make your profession of Christianity work?" At times the answer is given: "By shutting off the Church, its problems, its interests, from the concerns and problems of the world's affairs; we shall accept the dictum which the politician, the financier, the industrialist is not seldom ready to pronounce (especially if the Church might have something uncomfortable to say), that it is not the business of the Church to interfere with the problems of industry, finance, politics, international relationships. It is not organised for that purpose. The life of the community is so complicated a structure that we must all be specialists and devote ourselves exclusively to the concerns of our own department." Thus the department of Church life becomes limited to certain conventional things, to the organisation and equipment of parishes, of dioceses as an end in itself, to the discussion of ways and means, to devising machinery for raising funds for Church work—and Church work all the while means what? That after all is the crucial question to put and to answer. Too often it is the question we beg or have never faced. Can we wonder that men and women come to believe that there are two worlds—one irreligious, the world of business, of social life, of warm human feelings; the other the religious world where Churchgoers go and worship is offered and life is devout, and charity and almsgiving are the work of men and women wholly different from themselves.

Shall we therefore yield to the ever-present temptation

to strike a bargain? Everything in its own place; Churchmanship, that is steadfastness, obedience to the rules of prayer and worship, of almsgiving, with its due and not too dominant a place in the ordering of life, but entirely distinct from the duties and necessities of business, of earning a livelihood, of social intercourse with their own distinct standards and sanctions.

Yet along whatever line we may be disposed to take up the challenge, "How do you make your Christian profession work?" one thing in these days of confusion and uncertainty we see to be pathetically true. We see that in approaching the complicated problems of our world to-day, amidst the conflict of interests, the lower motives have courted failure and disappointment; they offer no hope of a satisfying solution; the world in its distress longs and looks for something which its own worldliness cannot supply.

We can see, for instance, that moral principles, if they rest in the last resort upon no higher sanction than expediency, "what pays best", break down and become the savage doctrine that self-assertion, physical violence, shall decide the question of right and wrong.

We can see that political theory, if it takes account of nothing and studies nothing beyond "the economic man", breaks down because your politician finds he has no higher ideal of his country's life than of a prosperous mercantile concern, of which the best you can say is that for the time being it is being more or less honestly run.

We can see that social intercourse, without any higher ambition or better outlet for its activities than mere amusement, breaks down; it becomes dreary and unsocial.

We have seen, we have learnt by bitter experience, that in the intercourse of nations, even if you rely upon so beneficent and civilised a principle as arbitration to settle disputes and to avert the disaster of war, your system must break down just in the most crucial instances when a nation or a Government believe themselves to be powerful

enough to defy it, unless it be set upon the highest level which the conscience of disciples of Christ can discern for it.

It may be true (it is only superficially true) that the world cannot get on *with* the Church. It is much more significantly true that the world cannot get on *without* it. The Church of Christ in the world is designed always to stand for something upon which in the last resort the world *must* depend for its life, its refuge from the consciousness of its failure and weakness and guilt. "Lord to whom shall we go? *Thou* hast the words of eternal life."

II

The motive of our Congress this year is to face bravely and faithfully the question, "How does, how can our Profession as members of the Body of Christ work to-day?"

Let us begin then at the beginning. Let us turn our eyes to the decisive day of St. Paul's life. On the road to Damascus, burning with the zeal of a devoted Jewish Churchman, determined to scotch the peril of this new perversion of the cardinal doctrine of his Church's faith, the Messiahship, in a moment of illumination there bursts upon him all the truth, the meaning of his faith, of the destiny of his race, his Church. He understood the Christ. He was a changed, a new man. Thoroughly characteristic of the man's directness is his first question, "What am I called to do with my appreciation of Christ, my profession of His Name?" There is no mistaking the meaning of the answer, "Go to the city to which you started to go; go to the same company whom you started out to face; go to them with your new spirit, your new sense of values, your new motive and ambition".

That, I take it, has been from the first the call, the Mission of the Church of Christ: to take life as it finds it, the first instincts as they express themselves in the fundamental forms and institutions, the home, the family, the

relations of ruler and ruled, of employers and employed, of doers of business with one another, and to fill them all with a new motive, a new power for Good. The Church of Christ is pledged to be itself the witness of this power and to accept no standard lower than the highest possibilities which it can discern for human life in the light of the life and teaching of our Lord, the Redeemer. It is to be a Church completely strong in faith; not standing guard over itself, but claiming all the world in all its activities for God and His work of Redemption; bearing testimony to the authority of God and the Love of God, to the Redemption of Christ, to the spiritual possibilities of human living. The Church of Christ stands or falls by the evidence of its moral power; its moral power will be the outcome of its sincerity, its moral earnestness.

III

Obviously the first question we ask is, "What *is* the principle which gives this new power of transfiguring human life? What does our Lord's teaching stand for?" The answer is ready to hand, so commonplace, that we are apt to miss its significance. Yet it is so far-reaching that it transforms the meaning of the world in which we live, every activity of mind and heart and will, every relationship. That principle is declared in terms which we have learnt from childhood, in the charter of our Christian Calling, "That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven".

When ye pray say "Our Father". All human relationships, that is, are to be the expression and experience of life lived in one Family; of that Family God is Father, all wise, all loving; from Him we receive our life, our light, our strength; to Him we are pledged to be loyal children; to Him and the standard which He sets we are to refer without reserve, nay, in glad confidence, all our problems; and nothing but reference to that standard will give us the

solution of our difficulties or will supply our need, because we *are* the children of His Family.

Just reflect for a few moments what it means if we apply this principle to certain aspects of our common life.

Our Christian standard, for instance, of moral duty. Take the Sermon on the Mount. You find there no argument for righteousness on the ground merely of abstract principles; nor on the ground that honesty is the best policy; life in the Family of God is too personal for that; we do not recognise a cleavage between the intuitional theory of duty and the utilitarian; the childlike obedience shines with the light of what is truest in both; the light which comes to any duty because such a Father claims it; the light which reveals to us that *that* is the duty to be done and nothing short of that duty claims us—"Lo, I come to do Thy Will: I am content."

So then the sole test of moral progress, of happiness, of strength, will be the degree in which the children, each and all, are ennobled by life's tasks, and are given and do take the chance of working out the likeness decreed—of children of our Father which is in heaven.

Again, our standard of social and political relationships. The children in the Family of God know nothing of any sharp distinction between the Socialist and the Individualist, and they cannot tolerate the thought of a balance of conflicting interests, the theory that if each class, each interest, presses for its own claims at all costs, on the whole justice will be done as a result of the collision. We declare that not the strife of interests maintains society, the State, the city, but righteous men and women; that each class, each interest, will before all else be jealous of its own good name and will recognise in any selfishness or dishonesty or hardheartedness or thriftlessness or unscrupulousness the real enemy of its own good. Our motive of social reform will be not to devise merely some system of government of control, of restriction, but to work towards that Commonwealth which

shall give men and women and children the fullest opportunities of the good life—of growing to be what God's Children are meant to be.

Nor can we know anything of a hard distinction between Patriotism and Internationalism; we are pledged to the truth that the greatness of our own country is not dominion or extent of territory or mighty armaments, but the precious contribution it is endowed to make to the righteousness and spiritual progress of the world. We love our own country passionately because and only in the end because it enshrines the interests of God.

Again, under our Father's discipline the whole realm of knowledge is sacred; we know nothing of a conflict between science and faith, religious and secular intellect and emotion in the pursuit of truth. We are children learning truth in the Father's Home; and in the highest things truth when it is won is the possession of the whole man; it convinces the intellect, so far as it is attained by the richness of the affections and accepted by the moral will. We shall welcome *all* that is revealed of God's Purpose, of His ordering of the world, as the great region for the soul to grow in, and so shall learn not to be puffed up by our knowledge nor dismayed by the limitlessness of the unknown, but to live as the Child lives in the Father's Home the happy life of "true humility and unlimited hope".

IV

The Church of Christ will make good in the world only so far as it claims the world and all its interests for God, so far as its members realise that all problems, political, social, economic, international, where the interests of men and women are at stake, are religious problems and will only be solved from religious motives.

It is easy enough to declare that. There is a cheery optimism which tries to believe or rather to persuade that all

will be well if we repeat often and loud enough the phrases "brotherhood" and "comradeship" and "fellowship" and "co-operation" and "vision" and "the larger One-ness". Catchwords are the surest symptom that people have failed to see how deep the questions at issue go, or, seeing it, are not prepared to submit to the stern discipline which alone will help to solve them, the discipline of hard thinking and sincere self-denial. For in redressing human ills and redeeming human life the Church's task is to prevent, to anticipate, the causes of ill. Industrial strife, war between nations, commercial dishonesty, intemperance, impurity, misery, are always declaring to the Church that we have been too dull, too indolent, too self-complacent to appreciate and to assail the *causes* of mischief.

"That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven." It is the most exacting of all demands made upon the human spirit. For no standard lower than the greatness and the goodness of God can be for us any standard at all.

"Children of your Father." We are challenged by our title to keep fresh the spirit of children: the world shall be led along the way of true Peace to its goal by a little child —the spirit of open-hearted trust, of loyal obedience, of open-mindedness.

Again, it is idle for the Church to proclaim to the world a gospel of fellowship and co-operation, unless it is at the same time itself the living witness of that law-abiding sentiment which can alone give reality to our fellowship one with another. The modern world, it is true, has claimed to live at liberty and to live under that higher type of discipline which is enforced not by the fear or the threat of punishment but by the sense of corporate loyalty and corporate responsibility. Do we realise that to make good that claim we have set ourselves a far higher standard, and therefore need a far more sensitive conscience, a far more refined and transparent sincerity?

Again, the Church is bidden to show its spirit of venture,

its alertness to meet new needs. How in these ventures are we to make sure that we hold fast what is vital and best in our tradition? I answer, by a disciplined spirit of thoughtfulness. If it be true, as I have been told, that amidst the babel and strife of tongues in the modern world you cannot make yourself heard unless you shout, then the Church will be at pains to shout less, and think more. I want to see behind our controversies the sure mark that we have meditated, that we have been getting nearer to the great truths about God, His Love, His Righteousness, because we have been all the while in closer fellowship with Him. How else shall we find the true way or any way of meeting the needs of human life?

"Let that mind be in you which was in Christ Jesus", the temper not of self-assertion, not of evasion, but of unreserved reference to God's standard of obedience, to His claim upon us. That mind will grow in none but those who amidst the worldliness of conflict and partisan cries, in the necessary discussion of questions, often trivial, or of passing interest, keep and can disclose in the purity of their heart a single-minded devotion to their Lord, whom they are pledged "to follow whithersoever He goeth".

> Who goeth in the way which Christ hath gone
> Is much more sure to meet with Him than one
> That goeth by-ways:
> Perhaps my God, though He be far before,
> May turn and take me by the hand and more,
> May strengthen my decays.

FREEDOM

Sermon in Great St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, March 1, 1925.

I KNOW I am allowed to pay here my tribute of reverence and affection to that honoured son of this University and great public servant who passed from us within these last days. *Plenus vitae conviva*; truly he enjoyed to the full the best blessings life has to offer, because he used his great gifts of intellect and heart for the glory of God and the well-being of fellow-men.

During these past five years I have been closely associated with him in the work which was set by the Lambeth Conference to a Committee appointed by the Archbishop on the subject of "the Ministry of Healing". Whatever else I have learnt in the course of this inquiry, I know I have learnt in work and friendship with Sir Clifford Allbutt to appreciate the greatness of true humility. Never proud of knowledge, never dismayed by ignorance in the presence of the unknown and the unexplored, to him experience, service, contact with fellow-men, was a field for the soul to grow in, to grow in by sharing the thoughts and interests and work of others. Blessed are the meek, for they are the true possessors of God's earth and ours.

As free—and not using your freedom as a cloak to cover a low moral standard.—1 PETER ii. 16.

The Synoptic Gospels lay all the emphasis primarily on the reality of our Lord's Incarnation; for them the vivid and significant fact is that He was born; that He grew in wisdom as well as in stature; that he felt the pressure of physical needs of bodily appetite; that His motives were tested as searchingly as our motives are tested; that He felt

keenly the sting of disappointment, of being misunderstood; that He felt intensely the crisis of His Ministry; that He died on the Cross. So vivid, indeed, is the presentment the Gospels give of our Lord's human nature that it is no wonder critics from time to time have argued that any claims to go beyond this are inconsistent with the mind of those who compiled the Gospel narratives. True we accept this presentment of the reality of our Lord's Incarnation as a matter of course. Are we not often apt to lose the deep significance it came to have in the minds of the disciples of those early days of the Christian Society? Consider what some had seen and known, what all had come to see and know and to believe; and surely we are brought to understand that this narrative of our Lord's life in the days of His flesh as it is given in the Synoptic Gospels carried with it a meaning for them and for us which goes beyond the mere wonder of the story or the record of a life they loved to recall.

"Tested in all points, like as we are", says one of the writers of the early days; that truth stands first. Yet always, when the testing came, recognising the paramount claim of God's eternal distinction between right and wrong—always the unreserved reference to what God's Will is. "Tested in all points like as we are, yet always without sin", because sin is everywhere the refusal to offer our will to God when He claims the offering. Our Lord's holiness is the dedication of the whole man, his powers and experience, to God through Obedience. "He learned Obedience through all that He experienced." "In those few words", said a Father of the Church 1600 years ago, "we have the sum of the Gospel Ministry—the working out of our Lord's Manhood is a progress in Obedience".

The story of the progress is familiar to us and well defined. It begins with the life of obedience in the home; then we come to the scene of the temptation, the prelude of His work among men, the type of the testing to which in

His work He will always be exposed. There we have the uncompromising refusal of any means or methods which imply or involve the suggestion of any lapse from the highest duty; that circumstances make any difference; that the end justifies the means.

From that starting-point the progress is not from sinful habit to sinlessness, but the deepening of obedience by increase of experience, of understanding, of more complete union with the Will of God. Notice how plainly the development is brought out in the Gospel narrative.

Our Lord begins to work the work of Him that sent Him by instruction, by kindliness, by works of mercy. That way becomes blocked by the opposition roused in the Synagogue on the Sabbath. So that quiet way is renounced and is understood to be not the supreme way in which His work will be done.

Therefore He picked out twelve of His followers to be Apostles; these at any rate could be trained to understand, to appreciate the meaning of His life. They found unexpected difficulties; they became perplexed; their motives were tangled; at last one of the brotherhood betrayed Him; all forsook Him.

And all the while there had been the gathering hostility of every party of His countrymen, and in the face of every obstacle, of every limitation and disappointment, we feel His loyalty to the Father's purpose growing deeper; then at last the trials before High Priest, Herod, Pilate, and the way of the Cross; and through all the tumult and outcry He passes on His way Victor and Lord—"Crowned with Glory and Honour for the suffering of death"—Crowned with Glory and Honour; the dedicated life lived out in perfected obedience; the life of his human nature crowned and complete.

But what bearing has that upon *us* in our circumstances, in the hour of our testing? You will remember that St. Luke gives us the clue. In that strangely vivid scene when our

Lord has instituted the Sacrament of His Fellowship with those that are His disciples and, through the earnest of his abiding Presence with them, their fellowship with one another, there springs up at once the spirit of contention, the ambition to take precedence in this new Kingdom; they are taught that the true nobility in this Kingdom is the nobility of service; and then the mark of those who are His Own, trustees of His Sovereignty, is that they have stayed steadfast throughout in His temptations; like Him they have recognised the paramount claim of God's will and His values; they offer to God without reserve what He demands for His purpose. Thus their manhood comes into its own: crowned, completed, worked out through Obedience.

We cannot help turning aside for a moment to look at the tragic picture which sets before us the contrast—the life that was marred, desolate, unfulfilled, because of the refusal to offer to God all that He demands. "Behold to obey is better. Because thou hast rejected God's commands, He has rejected thee"; disowned thy high calling. There the starting-point is the inauguration of the monarch of the Chosen People after much searchings of heart and serious debate with earnest prayer; the accession of the Benjamite King in all the pride and promise of his manhood; nature had bestowed upon him all the gifts which men have loved to assign to heroes and to kings; he had many of the qualities which enhance a noble bearing; he showed self-command and dignity; he gave proof of a chivalrous heart and a generous spirit; and the end of it all, defeat, disaster and suicide on Mount Gilboa; the life had somehow become poisoned; the nature gradually darkened by meanness, a revengeful spirit, superstitious; the most pitiable of men in all his Kingdom; his manhood forfeited.

But we often miss the point of the lesson; indeed we miss this in making allowance for the failure; it is the apparent insignificance of the defects of character, of the moral will,

and their appalling significance in the working out of his manhood; trifling disloyalties, disobedience first in one set of circumstances, then in another; it was always possible to justify them so long as he kept to the lower levels of expediency or policy or believed that the supreme claim of his highest duty was visionary or impracticable.

But true—now tragically true—"to obey would have been far better".

2. We can now begin to understand something of the distinction and the fundamental character of what Christ means, and what His disciples are intended to mean, by freedom; what nowadays we prefer to call—very significantly—self-determination. St. Paul, St. James, St. Peter emphasise the liberty in a unique sense of the life of the Christian: "Where the Spirit of Christ is, there is freedom"; and the Gospel of St. John records the typical declaration given by our Lord of the life of freedom which His life guarantees: "If the Son shall make you free, then in very truth ye shall be free men." But that can only mean one thing: a manhood crowned, fulfilled, through the way of obedience; the unhesitating reference to God's eternal law of truth; the voluntary uncompelled surrender of a right which might be asserted, of means which might quite legitimately be used, because the highest duty points another and a higher way.

"As free men", says St. Peter, but not as men whose freedom is a cloak for a lower moral standard—an undisciplined life.

3. It would, I think, be not untrue to say that undergraduate life at the University is for all alike a training in freedom. Self-determination is the aim from first to last. The zest, the inspiration, of the corporate life of College only comes when the individual members are alive with their own individuality, with their self-determination. When Matthew Arnold concluded his familiar apostrophe to Oxford in his inimitable way with the quotation, "There

are their young barbarians all at play", he was declaring a truth about our University life deeper, more worth prizing, than he knew. For, after all, play is only the name for an attitude of mind which sees in the world an indeterminate field for activity, a perpetual adventure; "the spirit of play is the foundation and beginning of all real life".

I am not concerned to-day (it might be too commonplace) to dwell on the searching test which the conditions of life at the University apply. We who have been Schoolmasters and Tutors of Colleges know only too well what the test means; to have been subject to the discipline of Schoolboys in July and to be invited to share the freedom of full-grown men in October.

But I am constrained to apply the principle of Christian liberty to our religious life here; that is, to our interpretation of Christianity in belief, and in the institutions and observances of religion. It is in that sphere of our experience that freedom had been most fully claimed and most securely established. It has been decided—and I for one would never question the rightness of the decision—that compulsion, tests of orthodoxy, of membership of a particular Christian Communion—being driven to worship by a College rule—are all incongruous with what we conceive to be the highest ends of University life.

When then you claim freedom in religious belief, for instance, what is it that you claim? and what is it that you are given? You demand—and by all means demand it—that your beliefs shall be your own; that the answer you give for the ground of your faith shall be your own answer; your respect for your own intelligence, your sense of honour, will not allow you any longer to accept the great fundamental truths of the Christian Faith mechanically, merely upon the authority of a long tradition or of great names. You can no longer be satisfied, even if you would, with an intelligent reception of a number of defined propositions about God and Christ and the Church. You ask to enter

spontaneously into the genius of Christianity, to make sure that your loyalty is personal and real: that you share the fellowship of Christ's religion, that you know the mind of Christ. It is indeed the higher and better way. It is more true to the spirit of the Gospels. It conforms to the training which our Lord gave to His band of disciples. Do you realise that the way along which your freedom—your self-determination—leads you is far more exacting? Here you must be prepared for inward struggle—for temptations to shirk the constant demands made upon you—for intellectual difficulties and doubts, where there always lie the too deadly perils of bigotry and barren scepticism. For these truths you seek to make your own can never be gained if your freedom has anything in it that savours of caprice or shallow thought; these truths when they are won are the possession of the whole man; they have come to him by growing knowledge, by disciplined spiritual insight, enriched by the affection, and by personal devotion. So, too, your intellectual difficulties—always making themselves felt, because your belief is a living, growing power within you—due in my experience seldom to the lack of intellectual acuteness but rather to the reluctance to face the demands which such supreme beliefs make upon the moral will—will be solved not by the processes of intellectual argument or by some logical scheme, but by the discipline of the whole man; by his wholehearted obedience; "If any man will to do God's will, he shall come to know".

Again in recent years the demand has been asserted for the more free, the less servile thought of God and of the motive of serving and obeying Him. It is the desire to be emancipated from the more formal, the more strict statement of duty, and to accept freely and spontaneously a more gracious, a more spiritual conception of God Himself and of what He demands of man. It is the protest against the slavish motive of fear, against the threat of punishment to make men follow after righteousness. The wrath of God,

the stern judge of the old dispensation, is displaced by the boundless compassion of the Saviour. Pity is stronger than judgment, persuasion more effectual than rebuke. And we have come to speak sometimes as if sin would be conquered, "the works of the flesh"—the pressure of material motives —would be overcome, if only we proclaim and the world will lay hold of the only truth which can appeal to free men —that "God is Love".

True; we welcome with all our hearts the more profound, the supreme revelation of God's Goodness. Yet be sure that it is not the truth of God, it is the power of a lie, if we deceive ourselves into thinking that "no necessity is laid upon us"; nay, a necessity stronger than ever. No theology, if it be worth anything, can ever do away with the fundamental necessity of personal struggle, personal dedication, personal holiness in our lives. And to learn the fullness of what that meaneth "God so loved the world", to reverence the truth of it, not to profane it, is to have learned a self-mastery, a conscientiousness, a spirit of self-sacrifice and of loyalty more intense than the motive of fear could have ever made us know. For our only ambition must be to become worthy of such love; duty becomes not less but more imperious; and we are bound to press forward to new ventures of courageous living and to a more profound obedience.

Yet once more. More subtle than all are the dangers, to which perhaps we give least heed, of this freedom to make our own rule of religious observance and practice. We are always being told that the spirit of the new age is more eager than ever for Christianity, but revolts against organised Christianity; it is more concerned than ever with religion, with the spiritual values—but institutional religion and its observances leave it cold and indifferent.

I believe with all my heart the movement is sound and has all the possibilities some day of making our fellowship in the spiritual life more real, more natural, more intelli-

gent than it has ever been before. I say without reserve, for instance, that no one will persuade me to advocate a return to the old rule of compulsory College Chapel. Yet the issue is critical. I love to dream of College Chapels to which all alike without distinction turn spontaneously and naturally to bring in prayer and thanksgiving and worship each his own contribution to the spiritual fellowship which will give corporate life its true dignity, not because it is the College rule, but because all know that what counts most in the long last about any human society or any individual life is the fact that we are spiritual beings; that in the ordeal of life we are here to grow strong with the strength, and wise with the wisdom of the Father whose children we are, who owns the claim of our weakness and ignorance upon His Power and His Love.

Here then is the issue. Does our freedom, our self-determination, mean in fact that rules of religious observance, both personal and corporate, are sooner or later to be crowded out by the pressure of new interests and experience, and then prayer and worship will come to be meaningless tedious forms? Does it mean that college life is to carry with it all the associations of intellectual opportunity and social effort and friendship, but the College Chapel stands detached, to meet the needs of the devout, of a select few? Or, on the other hand, has our larger liberty opened our eyes to lay more stress than ever upon the reality of spiritual fellowship, if life is to be fulfilled; to know that we shall find that reality only as we learn to keep in touch more truly with God in prayer and worship; that the gift of prayer and worship belongs naturally to all; that we all need to learn more thoroughly *how* to pray, *how* to worship; that we all need one another in the learning?

There lies the issue. I know the ready answer to the challenge: "You must not demand too much; you must after all accept the real world; an appeal falls dead if it is too high-pitched."

I only know that when Christ came He found a world with its accepted standard of moral goodness, a Church with its rules and requirements of religious conformity. He found men and women who attained a certain degree—by no means a low degree—of conscientiousness; and because He could recognise no standard short of God's supreme demands, and because He came to prove that human nature could meet those demands through its progress in obedience, He utters His call to those who claim in any age to be His disciples, "Except your righteousness exceed". Christianity, remember, can never maintain its claim to be the *supreme* revelation of the meaning of human life unless the demands it makes are supreme. Christianity is nothing if it is not pitched at the highest. And when Christians claim or speak of freedom, they can never do so with a light heart, for they know that for *them* where the spirit of Christ is only there is freedom. And the spirit of Christ is the Obedience, which if so it must be, will tread the way of the Cross—there to be crowned with its true Glory and Honour.

AD CLERUM

Sermon addressed to the Priests' Convention at Oxford in St. Mary's Church, July 1921.

BROTHERS, fellow-servants of our Lord Jesus Christ, I am sure you will not think I am wanting in respect for you, or in a sense of the significance of this occasion, when I confide in you that I had written out and carefully prepared and thought over what we should think of as a formal sermon, and then, when I came to think of how I wanted to share with you and be in your hearts, as you are in mine, in what you are attempting now, I decided that I should be able to do what I wanted most to do, to help you best, rather by talking to you out of my heart informally as a brother sharing your burdens, as a fellow-labourer and fellow-servant of our Lord and Master. I do with all my heart bid you welcome and God-speed in what I know you desire to be and value as above all things a spiritual effort. How has that come about? Last summer your great gatherings did surprise most of you. In the midst of all the discussions that had been going on so long, and in the confusion of issues, in all the divisions of feeling and opinion, and in all the differences of emphasis and all the criticisms of persons and of policies, it would have been so easy to predict that a great gathering like the Congress last summer would begin and would end in debate, in loud and forcible assertion and emphasis of this or that point of view, encouraging ourselves to think that if only we have asserted ourselves loudly enough and made noise enough we have achieved something.

And yet I take it that nothing in the world was less like your experience last summer than that. What you came to see, and what you felt more and more and knew and

gathered, was a unity of purpose, and that purpose taking shape in just the one desire to concentrate upon our Lord and Master's work, to think of nothing else but the commission He has given to all of us alike, and to know that we are enabled to be true to that commission only in and through the Spirit that seals us. It is the old story. The spirit of wisdom which teaches us—sometimes a very painful discipline—always to refer to the true criterion. The spirit of counsel which trains us—and it is a difficult discipline—to always make sure of using the right means for the right ends. The spirit which trains us in watchfulness, courage, true-heartedness. The spirit of strength by which all the time we are growing in experience; but the question is, are we also equally growing in grace, so that we may adjust our experience, enriched by that growth in grace, to all the new circumstances and the new emergencies that await us? What we call the spirit of knowing-knowledge. And then all that experience of life enriched by the Grace of God within us to meet the new emergencies and experiences in our life with all it yields of hope and fear and joy and woe; and then the spirit that draws us within the boundless compassion of God's love for human souls—true God-likeness. And all crowned by the spirit of His holy fear. Not one motive, not one ambition, not one effort that we dare not offer to Him before the tribunal of His judgment as our humble tribute of thanksgiving and praise for His infinite mercy to us.

And to me the wonder and praise and beauty of your efforts last year, and since that time, has been that you have been guided once more to the old simple, deep, fundamental truths and principles of our ministerial life interpreted and transfigured by the experience of a wonderful time, and that you have been guided to feel the need, and to satisfy the need, of thoroughness, of depth, of reality. I must tell you that it did give me a shudder at first when I saw the word "efficiency" looming large upon your

scheme—just at first for a little—with all the dreadful suggestions of producing an effect and of being very self-conscious about it all, with all the dreadful suggestions against which we have that simple, perpetual warning of the barren fig-tree—a great show of leaves all on the outside, without any power to bear fruit at all or to provide the means even of any new growth—a showy promise never reaching, and which never can reach, its right fulfilment—the very negation of a ministry like ours with which we are entrusted, not to achieve or conquer at all in the first instance, but in the first instance just to go and do the will of Him who sent us; not to accomplish as the world measures accomplishment, but only according to our faith.

But that is not what you mean by efficiency, and that is not what you are thinking about; you are thinking and praying earnestly, simply, humbly, to be thorough, to get rid of superficiality, and contentment with superficiality, to be deeper, to be more real; and, therefore, at the very outset of all your thoughts and all the papers you will have read to you and all your discussions, let me ask you to take just this one thing as the guiding thought of your gathering throughout this week, to read this thought into every side of the task you have set yourselves, and to test what you say and what you think in the light of that one thought: I mean what St. Paul sets out once and for all as the work of a faithful ministerial life. Do not think me egotistical, my dear brothers. Ever since the day I was ordained deacon by dear Bishop Stubbs, every day it has been my daily text—such a comfort in times of discouragement, in times of a sense of one's own littleness and insignificance, and in times when great responsibilities and challenges have been put before one. *Διὰ τοῦτο ἔχοντες τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην* "Having therefore this ministry", *καθὼς ἠλεήθημεν* "as we have received such wondrous mercies", *οὐκ ἐγκακοῦμεν* "we dare not, we need not be untrue to it", *ἀλλ' ἀπειπάμεθα τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς αἰσχύνης*

"we have renounced, we have turned our backs upon all the things we have to cover up because they belong to the life and to the world of shame. We safeguard ourselves", *μὴ περιπατοῦντες ἐν πανουργίᾳ* "making sure that our walk is not a walk that has no precept to guide, but is merely recklessly undertaken," *μηδὲ δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ* "not allowing lower motives to come in and corrupt the Word of God that we have to deliver" *ἀλλὰ τῇ φανερώσει τῆς ἀληθείας* "but by the evidence of the reality of that ministry, by showing its true clear nature" *συνιστῶντες ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς πᾶσαν συνείδησιν ἀνθρώπων* "we bring conviction about what we are to any and every man, to his conscience, to his heart, to his mind. But" *ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ* "offering it to God from Whom we came, to Whom we go, by Whose marvellous mercy we were sent to do this work". *Καθὼς ἠλεήθημεν, οὐκ ἐγκακοῦμεν.*

First, then—and I doubt not it has been first already—praise and thanksgiving for the wondrous mercy of our calling. Just think, my brothers, here with all your wonderful experiences, how that call came to you in such manifest ways; with many of you just as the natural sequence of the home life, associations, tradition; to others it came as a shock in the midst of preoccupations and obsessions in quite other careers and ideas of life. But to every one of us here it came through the presentment of the Church of Christ here in England; that presentment of the Church of Christ which meets the needs, and is meant to meet the needs, and expresses the character of that strange race who have peopled this island, and who by the romance of history now find themselves responsible for one-quarter of the inhabitants of this planet that are known to us—a race wonderfully illogical, with an uncontrollable instinct for the anomalous, and an unparalleled capacity for making the impossible work, but a race, mind you, that all through its history has shown and has developed two striking characteristics: always

wonderfully sensitive to the call of adventure and of enterprise, and to the challenger that put it on its mettle; and, on the other hand, a race that is extraordinarily impatient of authority if there is the slightest ground for thinking that that authority is capricious or irresponsible, but passionately loyal to the idea and the sentiment that lies behind and gives its character to all corporate life. I suppose that naturally the history of the Church of Christ has emphasised and has reflected all those characteristics and tendencies of the English people. It is not an easy history to trace or to follow; it is not an easy system to explain; it makes demands upon intelligence, upon forbearance, upon patience, upon practical insight, upon right judgment and common sense more than any history or system that I know.

But I can never look upon it or treat it as an organisation; it is a living part of the mystical Body of Christ into which I was received as a member in my baptism, and which, through the grace of God, I accepted with my own mouth and conscience, in which I have been privileged to receive the gift of my Lord and Master's life, to live in His abiding Presence, through which I was inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost and truly called according to the Will of our Lord Jesus Christ to receive His Commission. "As the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you," *καθὼς ἠλεήθημεν.* Not outsiders, not free lances, not critics, but thankful, patient, true-hearted, courageous, we identify ourselves with others, bone of their bone, flesh of their flesh, and so *καθὼς ἠλεήθημεν* all trace of the cowardly, or the mean-hearted, or the double-minded; in that feeling of thankfulness *οὐκ ἐγκακοῦμεν* we dare not, we never can be false witnesses now; *ἀλλὰ ἀπειπάμεθα τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς αἰσχύνης*, in that spirit of thankfulness we have done with secrecy, with all the acts and motives and ends that have to be concealed and covered up or glossed over and make us ashamed before our Lord and Master, and make Him ashamed of us; we mark well the way we walk, we mark well the

message that we give, μὴ περιπατοῦντες ἐν πανουργίᾳ μηδὲ δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ. There is the double peril, the peril of the πανοῦργος, the men ready to justify any means by the end that we have in view, to subscribe to the devil's doctrine that the end justifies the means—poor, deluded men, forgetting that the end itself has become hopelessly corrupt in the process; and the peril of allowing lower motives and aims to prompt the message which God has called us to deliver in His name; ἀλλὰ τῇ φανερώσει τῆς ἀληθείας, but by the evidence of its reality, with all the conditions under which reality is possible, or its attainment. Our Lord has told us quite simply in His great ministerial prayer, recorded by St. John, "They are in the world, they are not of the world". For us to be worldly is to be unreal, as it is equally unreal for us to be out of touch with and not at close grips with the problems and interests and opportunities of our own particular age and circumstance. Obviously it is unreal for us to be worldly. Just think how different our career is from any other career in the world. Ours is irrevocable. You cannot go and be something else. And there is nothing to be got out of it. And yet how intimately we have to do, and are expected by our Lord and Master to do, as He intimately had to do, with the concerns and the interests of our fellow-men and with the questions of the hour. You know our presentment of Christ is what we have to keep in mind. "As the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." We have to present Him, and our presentment of Christ is often charged with being unreal. The thinker says, "All these things that these people say are unreal, they are mere words"; and the working-man says—I have heard him say it—"It is all very well, but it cannot be carried out; it is unpractical." Now, if there is any ground for such a charge, what the critic means is this, that our service is transcendentally lofty. Its ideal is beyond all question loftier than those of all other careers; but, however transcendental, however lofty, we do expect

that it is to touch human life in all the world around us; it must be intelligible to the thoughts of the day, it must correspond with the necessities and realities of human life by the evidence of the reality of our ministry, the reality that comes out in what we think and say and do; and therefore anyone whose life we touch, whether he agree with us or not, recognises, and is meant to recognise inevitably—he cannot help it—that we believe what we say, that we say what we believe, and that we do what we profess to do.

Now we know how the world to-day, and the society in which we move all round us, whatever be its particular strength, the fashionable society of London or the great crowds of working people and artisans—we recognise that the world of to-day is beset by the tendencies to unreality that shows itself in these kinds of forms:—False sentimentality. You find superficial feelings and superficial expressions that are substituted for really going out and taking off your coat and doing something. But, in addition, you find frothy expressions all substituted for the discipline of steadfast, quiet, continuous service. Then, again, it is beset by superficial language, the catchwords and phrases of the day that are picked up and appropriated, one from a newspaper, or another from some article, and then are delivered with astounding emphasis as the convictions of a lifetime, when we know perfectly well the man has never heard of them before—all substituted for the discipline of thinking things out. Or by the lack of concentration. There is the unreality that comes from lack of concentration. People are very busy, they are preoccupied, they have a crowd of things to do; their fancies, their interests, are easily captured and fascinated by something that seems more interesting in another sphere in which they find their interests stimulated better. And so it is you find in the world to-day that reading, working, and recreation all tend to become desultory, a mere routine.

Then there is the constant human frailty of which our adversary the devil is always taking advantage, the human frailty of taking credit to oneself for one's environment: a man's taking credit for his birth, his social position, his country's fame and achievements. All those tendencies, I say, are helping to make men and women unreal. Be quite sure of this, that in the ministry of the Word and Sacraments we are not going to be exempt. We shall feel the pressure to be tempted to yield to those tendencies more than any others because they come to us in far more insidious ways. False sentimentality, emotions, are such an easy substitute for unvaried commonplace and hard work. Then, under the guise of spiritual emotions, a bishop once told us, all sorts of baseness and even corruption easily finds its way. Or superficial language, catchwords and phrases picked up from journals, from public meetings, and doing duty for the discipline of hard thinking. No gentlemen of the world are more easily caught in the snare. Abandoning and even resenting discipline, partly through the exigencies of our work, but chiefly through that fascinating idea, "It is not my business to think, but to accept what the Church has thought out and laid down", forgetting that if the Church is the creed or doctrine maker, I, too, as a commissioned member of that Church, have my responsibility for some of the making, and forgetting this, that I am nothing if I am not sent to be a teacher as my Lord and Master was a teacher. And you and I know perfectly well that the very first condition of all teaching is to be always learning by the discipline and the concentration of thought which will make our teaching clear, so that the answer that we give to anyone who asks us the reason of our hope is our own answer, not somebody else's. I have sometimes thought out to myself in fear and trembling, and as a means of self-examination, "Am I a false teacher?" And one of the characteristics of a false teacher is, I take it, amongst other things, that he

is one who imparts to others what he has never really made his own and has never realised to his own mind and conscience and heart; it is not his own truth that he gives, for he never made it really his own.

And then think of our tendency to desultoriness and lack of concentration—such a lot of formalism in saying offices and in all the amount of work we get through, offices recited and the plain obligations of the ministerial life all treated as ends in themselves. Then we can so easily turn into pedants and prigs. And then we wonder why we fail to commend ourselves to our fellow-men who are not convinced! And then, of course, we blame them for their lack of spirituality, and their worldliness. And then there is the temptation to assert our office in itself, our priesthood, as the ground of the claim to be heard or obeyed. It is not the priesthood, but it is what I have said and done and thought in interpreting that priesthood, in realising it through Jesus Christ my Lord, that is the ground of my claim. There never can be any other ground. That is my contribution to the offering made to our Lord day by day in the corporate ministry of the word and sacraments, commending oneself to the heart and mind and conscience of anyone we come across. There cannot be a more perilous motive in the world than the motive of commending ourselves to any and every one about us to convince them of the reality of our ministry. I know well enough in my experience as a schoolmaster that the schoolmaster who is the most deluded of all is the man who confidently tells you he has got hold of all his boys; he has commended himself to any and every one, because certainly almost all his boys have got hold of him.

And therefore St. Paul sums it all up as ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ. There is the secret, to live in that Presence, ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, the secret of detachment, the secret of individuality, the secret of naturalness. Yes, of naturalness; that is how we shall become perfectly natural. And that is quite true.

Some of you have read *Bishop Wilkinson's Life*, and you will remember that touching incident when there was an old veteran soldier, an Army officer of great distinction, who said he had been called upon by Bishop Wilkinson to do the most difficult thing he had had to do in his life, to present himself for Confirmation with a little band of insignificant school children. He said, "What is wonderful to me is that his religion is so natural to him. It comes as natural to him to speak about the spiritual world as for me to talk about the Army." He lived we know ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ; everything was referred to that judgment. And we refer ourselves to others, and we cannot. He will make use in His own way of our prayers, our intercessions, our counsels, our ministry of the word and sacraments, if our only thought has been to become disciplined to stand before the Son of Man, and our only motive to become worthy of being used as His instruments.

Brethren in Christ, we have such a noble and such a special service to render to Christ's holy Catholic Church, to the East and to the West. We have in an unexampled degree the means, the opportunity, the tradition, the instinct, to enable us to render a very special service to Christ's holy Catholic Church, and I just put it to bring out the two points I have brought before you—the service of proving how real and how human is our pastoral office. The Serbian students found it an absolute revelation, as the ministerial life is put quite naturally in the really human side of our pastoral office, how everything is subordinate and made to serve, not to hinder, the purpose and the work of understanding the deepest needs of our fellow-men, and learning, learning, learning all through life how to satisfy those deepest needs. And then to bring home to ourselves and to the world the reality of our Lord and Master's God-speed to us: "As the Father hath sent Me into this world, with all its worldliness, with all the strong tendencies, that stress of keeping in the darkness

and not turning to the light, with all the insidiousness of temptation, into that world I was sent; into that same world with the same difficulties, the same adversary to face, I send you, every one of you, into your parishes, into your lecture rooms, into your work among your fellow human beings."

And then I think, and I lay stress upon this, there is the special service we can render of proving the reality that our service is nothing at all if it is not a corporate ministry And the first condition probably, I should perhaps say almost certainly the first condition, of realising that corporate character quite sincerely is that the authority, the sanction, under which that ministry works shall not be individual, shall not be capricious, but shall be really constitutional. Brethren, you know how anxiously, how earnestly, some of us are working, praying, striving to bring about that end; but that end will never be achieved, and will never be worth achieving, except by the deepening of discipline and the conviction in the hearts and wills of every one of us that we were called and inwardly moved by the Holy Spirit to a fellowship in the ministry, fellow-servants, and that our work in which we have that fellowship will only become fruitful, and will only become blest, by realising and appreciating that fellowship in ministry. There has been far too much of the spirit of apologising for the Church of Christ as it has been presented in this our England. We do not apologise for having in our own way given witness to the world, and sent out throughout the world, ideals of political justice, of freedom, and of constitutional life, and have invited, unconsciously by them, nation after nation to build up their political and social life upon the ideals of which the English people have been the only exponents in the world's history. We do not apologise for that. I do not apologise for that system of corporate loyalty which has made our public schools and our colleges and universities institutions that are quite

unique in the educational history of the world, so that when a German burgomaster stayed with me at Winchester he said: "If only the Kaiser had an institution like this, and knew what it means"—he did not mean the curriculum, he did not mean the class-rooms, the organisation, the system of discipline, but he meant the ethos of it, and what it stood for, and the people he had talked to, and after four hours' conversation he said: "If only the Kaiser had an institution like this, it would be worth all his Dreadnoughts." And in the War, too, it was that combination of loyalty with that which lies behind, the training of our manhood, that gave us the victory in that war. I am not going to apologise for that. I am not going to apologise then for the service we can render to Christ's holy Catholic Church, by bearing witness to Christendom, or to other Communions, of what we contribute, and perhaps can prove as none other can prove: ἡ φανέρωσις τῆς ἀληθείας, the reality of our ministry.

God speed, dear brothers, your task. Day by day I shall pray that God's blessing may rest upon your efforts, and that this may be the beginning of an effort and power greater than we know and we shall ever live to realise.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY

Memorandum put before the Archbishops' Commission on Doctrine by Bishop Burge as Chairman.

THE object of this memorandum is to call attention to certain points connected with the theological terms in which the Christian Church has been accustomed to state its belief about the being of God. No attempt is made to give any connected account of the evolution of the doctrine of the Trinity. At most it aims at giving a summary of the teaching of certain important writers and considering the meaning of the language that they employ.

We may make three preliminary observations.

First, the Christian doctrine of the Trinity is in origin and purpose absolutely distinct from certain other doctrines to which it bears a superficial resemblance. It is the attempt to express in the clearest possible language that idea of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit which is implied in the life and teaching of Christ and the experience of the Christian Church. As such it is utterly different from a trinity of gods formed by the amalgamation of the cult of three separate gods. It is no less clearly to be distinguished from any form of philosophical speculation which on abstract grounds of thought comes to conceive of God or the Absolute as a unity containing within itself a threefold differentiation. At certain stages of Christian doctrine an analogy to or an explanation of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity has been sought in such philosophical speculation, but it is doubtful whether the result has been entirely healthy. It has meant the importation into theology of associations alien to the Christian religion.

Secondly, we must insist that the development of this doctrine and the progressive attempts to attain to a more precise formulation of it were not due to speculation on

the part of the Church. They were forced upon the Church by controversy. Explanations were given by teachers often inconsistent with one another and often of such a character that if tolerated they would have undermined the essential nature of the Gospel. The Church's decisions were primarily negative, the ruling out of teaching that would have proved fatal to Christian life and worship. It is usually agreed, for instance, that Arianism, if allowed, would in the long run have destroyed Christianity. At Nicaea the Church was fighting for its life, and the only remedy was to deny Arianism in terms of the philosophy in which it was asserted. The utmost pains were taken to make it clear that the Church did not want to go beyond Scripture.

Thirdly, in all later discussions we must assign due weight to the fact that theologians held themselves bound not only by the facts but by the interpretation of the facts suggested by or contained in Scripture. In the New Testament there is already emerging a rudimentary doctrine of the Trinity. St. Peter, St. Paul, Hebrews, and St. John all witness to a practical belief in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The three last imply a belief in the pre-existence of the Son as in some sense a divine personal being. The doctrine of the personality of the Holy Spirit is less clear, but the Fourth Gospel clearly regards Him as distinct from Christ and as personal, and the least that we can say is that it regards its teaching on these points as consistent with the teaching of Jesus. I believe the same to be true of St. Paul. Again, it is historically incorrect to regard the later Logos doctrine as an importation from pagan philosophy. The apologists, for instance, found a Logos doctrine already existing in Scripture, in origin Jewish rather than Hellenic, and this was their starting-point. Whether they did not bring in ideas connected with the Logos that were essentially pagan is another question. All that we are now concerned to maintain is that in all study of the development of Christian doctrine we must allow due weight not only

to the history and religion but also to the theology of the New Testament.

We begin with Tertullian, where we meet, for the first time, the definite formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity in the technical terms of all later Western theology, "Una Substantia: Tres Personae". The precise meaning of *Substantia* has been disputed. It is used for the most part in a philosophical sense. Dr. Bethune Baker (*Texts and Studies*, vol. vii.) makes out a good case for the view that it means more than *natura*. It means a distinct entity. Nature means the sum total of the attributes of a thing and as such may be contrasted with a particular attribute as in *De Anima*, c. 9, or with a substance of which it is the nature as in *De Anima*, c. 32 (cp. *Adv. Prax.* 26). Accordingly when Tertullian speaks of *una substantia*, he asserts the unity of God in the most uncompromising fashion. *Una natura* would leave the way open to polytheism. Tertullian's God is an individual.

We notice that once or twice he is on the verge of employing the term *substantia* to denote one of the three Persons. "Quaecumque ergo substantia sermonis fuit, illam dico personam et illi nomen filii vindico" (*Ad Prax.* c. 7). So in c. 9, "dico esse alium patrem et alium filium et alium spiritum" and each is "substantiva res". In the kindred treaties of Novatian, *substantia* is definitely used twice in the later sense of the Greek *hypostasis* (c. xxxi.) and elsewhere we find "In substantia fuit Christus ante mundi institutionem" where it means personal subsistence (c. xvi.).

It is agreed that in the Latin of this date *substantia* was the equivalent of the Greek *ousia*, since *essentia* did not succeed in holding its ground till a later date. And if the above interpretation is correct it inclines to the sense of individual concrete being rather than to that of a vague *substratum*. (See, however, *J.Th.S.* vol. iii. p. 292.)

The meaning of *personae* is more easily ascertained. The clue to the use of it in Tertullian is to be found in the texts quoted to prove the distinction of the Persons. There it is

grammatical, not legal, it refers to the employment of the first, second, and third persons in the verb. Thus in *Adv. Prax.* cc. 11 and 12, the texts show the Father as addressing the Son or *vice versa*. Almost all the Psalms which prophesy of the Person of Christ represent the Son as conversing with the Father, that is, represent Christ as speaking to God. Observe also the Spirit speaking of the Father and the Son in the character of a third person" (*ex tertia persona*). Again: "In these few quotations the distinction of the Trinity is clearly set forth. For there is the Spirit who speaks, and the Father to whom He speaks, and the Son of whom He speaks. In the same manner the other passages also establish each one of the Persons in His special character (*proprietate*)." Texts where God speaks in the plural are used to prove the plurality of persons. The real importance of this to us is the light that it throws on the idea of the Trinity that Tertullian had in his mind. The three *Personae* were regarded as able to enter into what can only be described as personal relationships. There is no attempt to analyse personality from within, but viewed from without the three are three subjects able to hold mutual intercourse. The positive side of Tertullian's teaching is summed up in Waterland's definition of a person as an intelligent agent, having the distinctive characters of I, thou, and he, and not divided or distinguished into more intelligent agents capable of the same character" (*Works*, vol. ii. p. 651). If it should be argued that in these illustrations the self of the Second Person is the self of the Son as incarnate, we can fairly reply that the same cannot be true of the Holy Spirit.

Tertullian's God is therefore a "social" God. He speaks much of the *oeconomia* "which distributes the unity into a trinity". By this he means the system of mutual relations into which the godhead is organised. He even compares it to the organisation of the Roman empire under three emperors which had just occurred, and argues that this

does not conflict with the divine *monarchia* which he apparently misunderstands as meaning "single rule". The Son and the Spirit are viewed almost as divine officials through whom the absolute sovereignty is administered without any division or severance in the Godhead (c. 3). We find also the usual unsatisfactory illustrations from the material world, natural to a Montanist who relied on visions and to a Stoic who regarded the difference between matter and spirit as only one of degree of subtlety. The same materialising tendency accounts for the unhappy expressions in which the Son is spoken of as *portio totius*. We can set against them other places where he shows that the divinity of the Word is in no way inferior to that of the Father, and that His subordination consists only in His receiving it from the Father "pro modulo derivationis". "Et Pater deus et Filius deus et Spiritus Sanctus deus et deus unusquisque" (c. 13).

We are therefore not surprised when we find in Novatian that the Godhead is frankly likened to a society. In c. 27, discussing the text Jn. x. 30, he argues that the Son manifests "proprietatem personae suae id est Filii" by saying, "Ego et Pater (*not* ego Pater) sumus (*not* sum) unum (*not* unus)". " 'Unum' societatis concordiam non unitatem personae sonat." Again, "Unum" is said "ad concordiam et eandem sententiam et ad ipsam caritatis societatem pertinere, ut merito unum sit pater et filius per concordiam et per amorem et per dilectionem". This is even followed by a comparison with the fellowship between Paul and Apollos. Two are one (unum) when they have one judgment, one truth, one faith, one religion. Nor does the pronounced subordinationism of certain passages conflict with the insistence on unity of substance. They are all based on Scripture, and earlier Novatian has asserted the full divinity of Christ and repudiated the idea that His divine glory was *in praedestinatione* rather than *in substantia*.

When we pass to the further question, Does Tertullian

regard the Trinity of three persons as in the true sense eternal and essential? the answer is less clear. The more probable view is that he held that God differentiated Himself into a Trinity of Persons at the beginning, that is, at a moment of time, for purposes of creation. Beyond all dispute he dates the beginning of the "sonship" of the Word at a definite moment (c. 7). This is the meaning of the sentence in *Adv. Hermogenem*, c. 3, "there was a time when the Son was not". The Word attained the title of Son by being manifested apart from the Father. In some sense He always existed in God. "Before all things God was alone, being in Himself both universe and space and all things. But He was alone because there was nothing external to Him but Himself. Yet even not then was He alone; for He had that which He possessed in Himself, namely, His own reason. For God is reasonable and reason was first in Him and so all things were from Himself. Which reason is His own consciousness (*sensus ipsius*). This the Greeks call *Logos*. Then in a complicated passage he distinguishes between the two senses of *logos* and argues that reason becomes word when it goes forth in utterance. We cannot think without speaking our word in our minds, nor can we speak without expressing what we think. "Thus in a certain sense the word is a second you within you, through which in thinking you utter speech and in speaking you exercise thought. The word is another than yourself. Now how much is this all enacted in God, whose image and likeness you also are considered as being, inasmuch as He has reason within Himself and within reason His Word. I can therefore lay this down without rashness that even before creation of the universe God was not alone, since He had within Himself both reason and within reason His Word" (c. 5). Here are the beginnings of the attempt to represent the Trinity as the eternal process of the divine self-consciousness, but the inadequacy is strongly insisted on.

The real weakness of the treatment in Tertullian is due

to his defective philosophy. For him eternity was only time prolonged. This and his tendency to materialism account for his vagueness and inconsistency. There is no doubt that he taught that the Son had personal existence before the Incarnation. The theophanies of the Old Testament are regarded as rehearsals for His coming as man (c. 16). Personal activities are ascribed to Him. Dorner is right when he says that his great contribution to Christology was "his designation of the personal element in the higher nature of Christ by the name Son. . . . The age of Logology was now succeeded in consequence of His labours by the age of Sonship" (p. 79). When he is close to Scripture he is sound. He rightly attempts to place within the very being of God the filial relationship which Christ exhibited in His earthly life. He taught clearly the existence of moral and personal relationships in the divine life prior in time to the Incarnation. His economic Trinity is one of three selves, but his philosophy only allowed him to regard this self-differentiation as temporary, provisional, and arbitrary, resting on the will of God.

Novatian at least moves in the direction of teaching the eternal existence of the Second Person not only as Word but as Son. "Hic cum sit genitus a patre semper est in patre. Semper autem sic dico ut non innatum sed natum probem. Sed qui ante omne tempus est, semper in patre fuisse dicendus est; nec enim tempus illi assignari potest qui ante tempus est. Semper enim in patre, ne pater non semper sit pater" (c. 12). Novatian's use of *innatum* a few lines later shows that it means "self-originated". So in c. 21, "Unus deus ostenditur verus et aeternus pater a quo solo haec vis divinitatis emissa etiam in filium tradita et directa rursum substantiae per communionem ad patrem revolvitur" does not refer to any future absorption of the Son by the Father, but rather, as the present tense suggests and the context shows, approaches the idea of an eternal mutual relationship. The comparative silence of Novatian about the Holy

Spirit, though he regards Him as standing in the same relation to Christ as Christ to the Father, is due to the fact that the Sabellian controversy was fought on the relation of Christ to the Father. If we owe to Tertullian a richer conception of God based on the belief that the Sonship that was revealed on earth in Jesus Christ was the disclosure of a Sonship within the very life of God Himself, that conception is maintained and even developed by Novatian. The importance of this for Church history is enormous. The West in terminology was Nicene before Nicaea. Throughout the Arian controversy it was strongly Athanasian. Further, a good case can be made out for the view that the language of Nicaea was based on the terminology of Tertullian and Novatian, brought to the East by Hosius of Cordova. To this we must now turn.

The prolonged controversy which followed the Council of Nicaea was in large measure due to the ambiguity of the test word ὁμοούσιος. The word οὐσία had certain philosophical associations in Greek thought which were lacking to the Latin *substantia* and brought with them great opportunities for contravening. It had been used in two senses, first as meaning a particular being, secondly as meaning that which is common to a class. It may therefore mean an individual concrete being or a universal common to more individuals than one. This ambiguity, when the time came to be used in theology, had already shown itself in the writings of Origen and in the correspondence between the two Dionysii. Further, the very word *homoousios* had been condemned in connection with the theology of Paul of Samosata. The most probable explanation is that he had used it in the former sense and spoken of God as *homoousios*, that is as an individual being, so as to leave no room for personal distinctions within His being. He used *ousia*, that is, in the sense of *hypostasis*. We can see therefore that its use in the Nicene formula, even as balanced by "of the *ousia* of the Father" might easily be open to the charge of

Sabellianism. Again, *hypostasis*, a far rarer word, was practically a synonym for *ousia*, and to speak of three subsistences might appear to be sheer tritheism. We must frankly recognise that in speaking of the Trinity as One Being and three Subsistences, the Church was using language capable of many shades of interpretation. The precise sense in which either word is used in any writer can only be discovered by a careful examination of his works. The terms contain a very minimum of definition. While due allowance must be made for their earlier associations in Greek philosophy, their content is primarily derived from Christian experience, especially as interpreted in the pages of the New Testament.

When we turn to Athanasius we find that by his use of *homoousios* he intends to safeguard the unity of God. To him the *ousia* of God is certainly not a mere universal which might be shared by an indefinite number of individuals. The term *homoousios* he avoids in his earlier writings. It only occurs once in the first three orations against the Arians. Dr. Bethune Baker has shown that he distinguishes when he wishes between οὐσία and nature. Of course he speaks of one nature when it happens to express all that he wishes to express, but "of one essence" means more than "of one nature". That accounts for his refusal to accept "of like *ousia*" as a satisfactory alternative to *homoousios*. He does employ it, but almost always with some qualification, and he argues that mere likeness may imply something of difference (e.g. *De Decr.* 23).

For the Latin *personae* there is no equivalent in Athanasius. He avoids *prosopon* in his own composition, employs *hypostasis* as the equivalent of *ousia*. There is not one certainly genuine passage apart from his discussion of other people's use of the term in which he uses it in its later sense. Indeed in the early tract, *The Exposition of the Faith*, though he rejects *mono-ousios* as an alternative for *homoousios* on the grounds of Sabellianism, yet he points out the

danger of the expression three *hypostases*: "Neither can we imagine three subsistences separated from each other, as results in the case of men from their bodily nature, lest we hold a plurality of gods like the heathen."

Yet it was due to his efforts that the later terminology won acceptance. The Synodical letter to the Antiochenes reveals the mind of the Nicene party. Both uses of *hypostasis* are recognised. As applied to the Persons it is explained as meaning real subsistence and ruling out the idea of a Trinity only in name. As applied to the divine unity, it does not imply that the Son or the Spirit are unessential or non-subsisting. Both Sabellius and Paul of Samosata are anathematised.

Athanasius marks an advance on Latin theology in that, following the teaching of Origen, the generation of the Son is viewed as an eternal activity and generation is distinguished from creation. On the whole the title Logos falls into the background, but he points out its value as balancing the idea of change and temporal process suggested by the title Son. So too the controversy about the Holy Spirit showed that the comparative silence about His nature in the earlier writings was purely due to the fact that controversy was primarily concerned with the Son. The Letters to Serapion show that to Athanasius He was no less personal and divine. His primary interest throughout is soteriological. The Son can redeem and the Spirit sanctify because they are fully divine.

There can be no doubt that for Athanasius the three Persons are three selves. The fact that he can be accused of Apollinarianism, his use of *Theotokos*, his arguments against Paul, all prove that he did not suppose that His conscious existence was constituted by His humanity. The social and personal relationship that He exhibited in His earthly life was the disclosure of a relationship eternal and essential in the divine being.

It was the work of the Cappadocians, Basil and the two

Gregories, to consolidate the position of Athanasius. The distinction between *ousia* and *hypostasis* was by no means easily maintained. Their adaptation to express the distinctions of Christian theology must to many have appeared arbitrary and artificial. *Hypostasis* in particular is used in a sense which was not quite that of common speech.

Tertullian and Athanasius approached the problem from the side of the unity of substance, the Cappadocians from the trinity of Persons. This is the truth that underlies the view, which can claim great names in its support, that they silently transformed the Nicene "of one essence" into the Semi-Arian "of like essence", while apparently none noticed the difference. This theory introduces confusion into the careful language that they employ, and really has little in its favour. The distinction between *ousia* and nature is maintained. The essence of God is one, godhead. As such it is unknowable except by the divine Persons, as indeed all essence is (Basil, *Adv. Eunomium* 13-14, *Hexaemeron*, Hom. i. 8, etc.). On the other hand, the nature of God can be known so far as it has been revealed by Christ or by divine operation (*Ep.* 234). "A distinction is to be observed between the essence, of which no explanatory term has yet been discovered, and the meanings of the names applied to it in reference to some operation or dignity . . . identity of operations indicates community of nature (*Ep.* 189). The same is true of the Gregories. Their assertions of the unity of God could not be stronger. They repudiate at once Judaism and polytheism. When they speak of one essence they mean more than one nature. Their conception is more subtle than that of three individuals of the same kind bound together by unity of mind and will. They expressly repudiate a composite God.

Granted, then, that "of one essence" safeguards the unity of God, what is the relation between essence and subsistence? The whole delicacy of the Cappadocian position lay in the fact that they had been used as synonyms. In *Ep.* 214. 4

Basil relates essence to subsistence as the general to the particular. "The principle of essence is common, as for instance goodness or godhead or whatever be in mind, while the subsistence is seen in the peculiar characteristic of Fatherhood, Sonship, or power to sanctify". So in *Ep.* 38 Paul and Timothy *qua* men, are ὁμοούσιοι but as particular men possess their own peculiarities. "This then is the subsistence, not the indefinite conception of the essence which attains no actual existence because of the generality of the thing signified but that which through its expressed peculiarities gives actuality to and circumscribes that which is general." Basil contrasts *hypostasis* with *prosopon*, the natural equivalent of the Latin *persona*, and rejects the latter as failing to rule out the error of Sabellius. "Not even Sabellius deprecated the formation of the Persons without subsistence" (*Ep.* 210. 5). Marcellus is condemned for not acknowledging the Son in His own subsistence (*Ep.* 265). Thus subsistence represents a distinction that is permanent and fundamental as opposed to one that is transitory and occasional. *Prosopon* might imply only a role temporarily assumed. Taken by themselves the above expressions are open to the charge of tritheism. As against them we must set other passages that assert in uncompromising language the unity of God. Thus in *Ep.* 8. 2, he denies that number which relates to quantity is applicable to God, who is simple and not composite and yet not a bare unit.

Gregory of Nazianzum carries forward Basil's theology. Though occasionally he uses subsistence in the old sense as equivalent to essence, an incidental sign that he was not aware that he was compromising the unity of God—he states and defends the distinction between them as practically useful. Unlike Basil, he tolerates the use of Person as an alternative to subsistence. In *Or.* 29. 2, he states that the unity of God is the result of "equality of nature, unanimity of judgment, and identity of will and the agreement with the One (*i.e.* the Father) of those who are derived from

Him and a unity of a kind impossible among created beings, so that even if they are distinct in number they are not divided in essence. Thus original unity passing by movement into duality finds rest in trinity. This is what we mean by Father, Son, and Holy Spirit". In *Or.* 31. 4, he apologises for the use of language borrowed from the material and temporal world to express relations that are timeless, as when the Son is said to be begotten and the Spirit to proceed. Later in c. 14, he states the doctrine of coinherence. "Those that spring from the one are referred back to it even though we believe them to be three. For the one is not more God and the other less God. Nor is the one before and the other after. Nor are they divided in will or parted in power . . . but divided as the Persons are, the undivided godhead is in each." He expressly contrasts his view of the godhead with that of the heathen who part the one divine nature among many gods and make the godhead a mere abstraction. Their gods, like men, differ in history, character, and capacity and are changeable. In the Trinity it is not so. "Each of the Three is entirely one with those with whom He is connected as He is with Himself because of the identity of essence and power" (c. 16).

In *Or.* 23, he argues that the threefold being of the Trinity actualises the divine life in its perfection. A barren unity, as in the Jewish idea of God, would be a straitened life. An indefinite multiplicity such as that of polytheism leads to confusion. While the full knowledge of the mutual relations of the three belongs only to the Trinity, we can find a certain analogy in ourselves, in whom we distinguish *nous*, *logos*, and *pneuma*, but this comparison is introduced with much hesitation.

Gregory of Nyssa is no less emphatic on the unity of God. The essence is not divided. "The Father is essence, the Son is essence and the Holy Spirit is essence" (*De communibus notionibus*). He then compares the three persons to Peter, Paul, and Barnabas. Here we are only saved from tritheism

by his Platonic realism. He holds that it is strictly speaking incorrect to speak of three "men". They are three persons sharing a common essence "man". Owing to the perishableness and changeableness of human nature it is less incorrect to speak of three men than it would be of three gods. Individual human beings vary, but the three Persons are not divided by time or space or counsel or habit or activity or by any emotion of the kind that is seen in man.

In the *Quod non sunt tres Dei* a similar argument is clinched by a full statement of the coinherence of the Persons. Unlike the separate activities of individual men, in the divine nature where One acts all act. "Every operation which extends from God to the creation and is named according to our variable conceptions of it, has its origin from the Father and proceeds from the Son and is perfected in the Holy Spirit."

In his *Catechetical Oration*, after rejecting polytheism on the ground that the godhead cannot admit of more or less, better or worse, ancient or modern, but must be eternally and perfectly all that it is, he contrasts Christianity with Judaism. Granted that God has a Logos, it will correspond to the nature of God and have eternal subsistence and the subsistence of the Logos is living. In virtue of His divine nature He has intelligence, will, and power to carry out what is willed. The relative character of the term implies a distinction between the Logos and Him whose Logos He is. So too, while in our own nature we find certain analogies to the Spirit, yet the Spirit transcends them. He exists in a substance of His own, possessing will, self-moving and active. In other words, full personal activities are assigned to the Logos and the Spirit.

As we study the Cappadocians it becomes clear that their doctrine of the Trinity does not spring from philosophical speculation but is based on Scripture and the experience of redemption. They are content to say as little as possible about the mystery of God's essence and speak

rather about God's operations. He has revealed Himself as Father, Son, and Spirit. The facts were compelling them to think out the question of personality. The One God has revealed Himself as existing in three centres or modes of being (*tropoi huparxeos*). Though the word *hypostasis* does not by itself convey any idea of self, as its use by Plotinus shows, in its application to the three Persons it easily acquired such a significance, in a way that *ousia* could not. Father and Son are essentially social terms. Subsistences so related can hardly be impersonal. So too Scripture assigns to the Spirit personal actions. Further the use of *prosopon* not only corrects the excessive idea of distinction conveyed in *hypostasis* by suggesting a temporary and superficial distinction, but brings in the idea of social intercourse, which is implicit in the term from the first. The combination of the two suggests social relations existing eternally in the being of God.

To sum up, in Cappadocian theology we meet a balance of thought and illustration. The three Persons are compared to three men and the difference lies not in the fact that the three men are three selves and the three Persons are not, but rather in the kind of life of which they are the centres. They can be one in a way which three men cannot. On the other hand, their interpenetration is such that it is comparable to that of the powers of a single man. We have avoided phrases like self-consciousness as introducing ideas and problems foreign to the mind of those ages. There can be little doubt that, if the question had been put, the subsistences would have been declared to be three centres of consciousness. For their theology God is an individual but not a person, an individual concrete actuality existing in three centres of being.

When we return to Western theology in the writings of Augustine, we find that he, like Tertullian, approaches the Trinity from the side of the divine unity. But there is this important difference. Earlier writers started from the

Father. Their subordination is pronounced. Their problem is to find room for the full divinity of the Son and Spirit. Augustine starts from the unity in Trinity. "The Trinity is the one and true God" (*De Trin.* i. 4). "All Catholic expounders who have written before me concerning the Trinity, who is God, have purposed to teach according to the Scriptures that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit constitute a divine unity of one and the same substance in an indivisible equality" (i. 7). Whatever is spoken of God according to substance or, as he prefers to call it, essence (vii. 10), is spoken of each Person severally and together of the Trinity (v. 8). All that God is He is essentially. In Him are no accidents; for what is accidental can be lost or changed. His substance is at once both simple and manifold (v. 5, vi. 8). Hence each of the three Persons is as great as the other two or as the entire Trinity. Indeed it is hard to see how we can say either the Father alone or the Son alone, since they are inseparable and are always one in relation to the other (vi. 9). The divine substance is in no way a fourth term. We do not say three Persons out of the same essence in the same way as three statues out of the same gold, for it is one thing to be gold, another to be statues. Nor are they like three men of the same nature, since out of the same nature can also be other three men. "In that essence of the Trinity in no way can any other person exist out of the same essence" (vii. 11). The truth that each is equal to the three is hard to grasp, because the imagination uses spatial images. It follows that in all their operations *ad extra* the Three have one will and activity (ii. 9). Their unity is by nature and not by consent (*Contra Maximum* ii. 10. 2). Hence the Son takes an active part in His own sending (ii. 9). The Angel of the Lord in the Old Testament is not, as the earlier writers taught, the appearance of the Son but of God; that is, the Trinity (ii. end).

Yet though inseparable they are a Trinity. And just as

their names cannot be pronounced simultaneously, so in some places of Scripture by certain created things they are presented to us in distinction and mutual relation to one another, as at the Baptism (iv. 30, cp. *Ep.* 169). Augustine attempts to maintain the reality of essential as opposed to merely economic distinctions in the Trinity by his theory of relations. The persons cannot be accidents, since the divine nature is simple and unchangeable. "Everything that is said (about God) is not said according to substance. For it is said in relation to something, as the Father in relation to the Son and the Son in relation to the Father, which is not accident; because the one is always Father and the other is always Son." "Always" is used and in no temporal sense. These titles are not according to substance because each of them is not so called in relation to himself but the terms are used reciprocally. "Though to be the Father and to be the Son is different, yet their substance is not different; because they are so called not according to substance, but according to relation, which relation however is not accident because it is not changeable" (v. 6). So too the Spirit eternally proceeds from the Father principally, but also from the Son. The difference between generation and procession we cannot fathom in this world (xv. 47, 48).

So far there is nothing inconsistent with Cappadocian theology. He only carries to its full conclusion their teaching of coinherence. It is unfortunate that his knowledge of Greek was scanty. His treatment of their terminology in vii. 7-12 shows complete ignorance of their meaning and is so confused that it is not worth discussion. But the question remains whether he did not go on to treat the Trinity so as in effect to reduce the Persons to three aspects of a single self. The large number of illustrations that fill books ix.-xiv. are all taken from the activities of a single human mind. At the beginning of these comparisons he lays down that it is through love that we can best attain

to the knowledge of the Trinity, and he finds in the threefold nature of love a trace of the Trinity. "Love is of someone that loves and with love something (or in one place, someone) is loved. Behold then there are three things: he that loves and that which is loved and love" (viii. 14). Elsewhere he identifies the Holy Spirit with the love of the Father for the Son (vii. 3-8), or with the will of God, which is a will of love.

He dislikes the word *personae*. It is unscriptural (vii. 8) and due to the regrettable necessity of saying something to deny the teaching of Sabellius. When the question "What three?" is asked, human poverty of speech compels the answer *Tres Personae*, "not that it might be spoken but that it might not be left unspoken" (v. 10, cp. vii. 9). Probably his own mystical experience would have led him to prefer to speak of one Person, but the facts of Scripture and the tradition of the Church were too strong.

But it is clear that he did not wish to be a modalist, and other passages modify the impression made by those quoted above. In one place he expressly affirms that each Person has a knowledge and memory and love of His own. It is too long to quote, but it develops a view that is inconsistent with the idea of God as a single self or consciousness (xv. 12). The passage is elaborately worked out. It cannot be dismissed as a mere slip. It is anticipated in xv. 7, and is found independently set out in *Ep.* 169. 6. We may hold that it is inconsistent with other lines of thought, but it represents an essential element in his theology. Further the apologies which he offers for his psychological illustrations are as profuse as those for the use of *personae*. The fifteenth book is given up to them and concludes, "I had found in one person, such as is a man, an image of that highest Trinity. . . . But three things belonging to one person cannot suit those three persons, as man's purpose demands, and this we have demonstrated in this fifteenth book" (xv. 45). He believed in the personal existence of

the Son prior to the incarnation (*e.g. Contra Max.* 15). His treatment of the analogy of love frankly breaks down, and there is a great deal of what must be called juggling with words. He discusses the possibility of the analogy between the Trinity and three human beings (ii. 20 and 5) but rejects it. His grounds of rejection turn on the separateness and variability which belong to human personality.

Two other considerations must be faced. First that he becomes most modalistic in proportion as he gets furthest away from Scripture and devotion into the atmosphere of logic. Secondly the influence of Neoplatonism. Has he entirely escaped the temptation of forcing the Christian idea of God into the mould of Pagan philosophy? The revelation of God in Christ is in danger of being overlaid by pagan speculation.

When we pass over the centuries to Aquinas, again we find the dominant analogy is that of distinct functions within a single human being. The utmost stress is laid on the unity of God. The relation of Father to Son is that of a thinker or speaker to his thought. The Spirit is love. The Son proceeds by way of intellect as the Word, but the Holy Spirit by way of will as Love. Is then the Son only the divine thought and the Spirit the love which God has for the object of His thought? There is another side of his teaching which should make us pause before we accept such a simple explanation. We can only quote a few passages. *Persona* is defined in the words of Boethius as "rationalis naturae individua substantia" or *subsistentia* or *hypostasis*. *Persona* in the case of God is used not in the same sense as in the case of creatures but "excellentiori modo". It denotes a relation existing in the divine nature "per modum substantiae seu hypostasis", not as a mere accident. "Cum nomen 'alius' masculine acceptum non nisi distinctionem suppositi in natura significet, Filius alius a Patre convenienter dicitur." We speak of *unicum Filium* but not of *unicum Deum* because deity is common to more

than one. A neuter signifies a common essence but a masculine a subject (*suppositum*) "quia in divinis distinctio est secundum personas non autem secundum essentiam dicimus quod Pater est alius a Filio sed not aliud: et e converso quod sunt unum non unus" (*Summa Theol.* i. Qu. xxxi. Art. 2). Again, "apud nos relatio non est subsistens persona. . . . Non autem est ita in divinis. . . . Nam relatio est subsistens persona" (Qu. xxxiii. Art. 2). So too in Qu. xxxvii. the name love is applied to the Spirit only as *personaliter acceptus* and a long and elaborate disquisition is required to explain the precise sense in which this is true. When he discusses the incarnation, he decides that though it was fitting that the Son should become incarnate, it was equally possible for either of the other Persons to have been incarnate (iii. Qu. iii. Art. 5 and 8).

Enough has been said to show that there are in Aquinas lines of thought that it is hard to reconcile with the idea of the three Persons as simply three functions of one mind. He shows that words predicated of God and creatures are predicated not univocally but either analogically or equivocally (i. Qu. xiii. Art. 5), and in Qu. xxix. Art. 4 that "person" is not used equivocally. It follows that it must be used analogically. This analogous use implies at least some likeness between the divine and human persons.

To sum up, the main purpose of this memorandum has been to show that there is ample precedent in Christian theology for finding an analogy for the divine life both in a single human mind with its various functions and in something like a perfectly unified society. Probably both are needed for the least inadequate idea of the Trinity that we are able to form. Christian tradition has never regarded the Three as merely human personalities. They interpenetrate in a way that three human persons cannot, yet our capacity for love and fellowship faintly suggests that if we admit eternal personal relationships within the Godhead, there must be persons to maintain them. The

recognition of the three Persons as three conscious centres of divine life does not involve tritheism, but it allows us to vindicate the social element in human nature by placing it inside the divine. Imagine a perfectly unified society. The three selves as regards their mental content would be indistinguishable. They would be one mind. But as regards love there would be the possibility of real fellowship. Metaphysically they could be distinguished only by their relation to one another, and the one divine life would be realised in these relationships. There would be no division. All would act as one. Some such view does justice to Scripture and to Christian tradition. In dealing with the mystery of the being of God, we must beware of solutions that are too clear and simple.

ADDRESSES AT TALBOT SETTLEMENT

September 1922.

1. DETACHMENT

"*These are in the world: they are not of the world.*"

1. Here is our Lord's plain statement of that true detachment which is the mark of the Christian way of *service*, of being "in our business diligent, in spirit fervent, serving the Lord". To be in the world, in the throngs and thoroughfares, where interests multiply and engagements crowd upon us, where work has to be done and routine has to be gone through. Yet not to lose our identity in it all; to keep strong and clear our Christian motive, our sense of God's Great Love enfolding, supporting us; our sense of being used by His love, because He needs us for His work.

2. And we come apart for these days because that way of realising detachment is prescribed by our Lord's own example. He used to go *apart* to pray; He continued all night in prayer in preparation for the task of selecting those disciples who were to become His Apostles. It would be a very limited view of His purpose to think that He continued in prayer only in order to make a wise selection; that He was only thinking of whom He should rightly choose. Beyond all that lies the simple fact of His being with the Father, resting His Will on the Will He loved to obey, and in obeying which His own Will found its fullest satisfaction; the fact of making sure that first of all, before He began to do anything, no other motives, no other ambitions came in saving the motive, the ambition of doing God's Will.

That was in its most simple sense to be "not of the world"—to find the source of strength, of wisdom, of

power to achieve not in the order of the thing we call the world but beyond it. The world supplies the material to be used; it is the scene of our high endeavour. The power of using the material lies outside it.

3. So we too are to be not of the world as He is not of the world. The world is our contact with each other, our human relationships, our friendships and associations, our give and take, the play of interests, aims, ambitions, capacities, tasks. Not in them shall we find truly the ultimate source of our power; they are not to be the real inspiration of our endeavour. If we think they are, we shall very soon find ourselves perplexed and in despair, confronted and distressed by the glaring contrast between what we hope and strive to achieve and the palpable result.

We are to learn and to know that the source of any power given to us lies beyond them.

That is our problem. How are we to try to solve it? How is such detachment to be attained?

4. Our Lord goes on to say: These are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. *Sanctify them in the truth*; consecrate their service, their aims, their motives in the *truth*—in the realities of things. Thy Word, *i.e.* God's expression of Himself, of His Will, of His purpose for us—that is Reality; and that "Word" is summed up for us finally in the "Word made Flesh" through the very limitation of our human nature glorified, enriched, perfected by *obedience*, in order to enable us to live in Him and serve in Him. The secret of detachment, then, is to be "sanctified in the Truth", *i.e.* by the Power of Christ, to live and to serve in the spirit in which He lived our life and in so living served God's purpose; it is to have *Christ's standard of values*; that means, to appreciate and to enforce what it is really that gives worth to our aims and ambitions, our tasks and capacities—to the world in which our lives are set and so to our sympathy and contact with our fellow human beings.

Now being in the world, being set in these human relationships, being sensitive to our environment, whether the environment of human beings or of Nature, we feel and we are made and meant to feel the joy, the sorrow, the happiness, the pain which human relationships and physical circumstances must always produce.

Hence the world and our circumstances are always tempting us to make the joy, the happiness, the goal of attainment, "the end in itself"—valuable in *themselves*.

Wherein then, we ask, lies the difference of Christ's standard of values? He too, as we are constantly made aware by the Gospel Story, was wonderfully sensitive in His surroundings, His contacts with fellow men; think of His intimate sympathy with human kind, its limitations, its hopes and fears, its failures, its unexpected achievements; and His intimate sympathy with Nature and all that Nature has to teach us. All that sensitiveness, we learn, is the evidence of the completeness of His human nature; by it He comes to the true knowledge of Himself and His Unison; thereby He grew in wisdom as well as in stature; and there again this divine sympathy is Himself reacting upon a disordered world, calling out in spite of itself for redemption.

True indeed—but in this sympathy, this sensitiveness of His, there is not only the presence of joy and thankfulness, and then again the presence of sorrow and trouble; rather we feel in Him in some undefined way the constant blending of the two; we see His humanity deepening, perfecting itself, as relationships with human beings deepened and multiplied; we see Him always finding and accepting new joys and new sorrows as His life with fellow-men becomes deeper and more intimate.

Mark this constant blending. Take, for instance, the enthusiastic happiness of His utterances as He gives men the chance of entering into their divine inheritance of sonship; do we not feel at the same moment His sense of their

responsibility, His pity that they are so little aware of what is involved, His distress in knowing that those who would not accept His offer must be in far worse plight than if He had never come to them—"More tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah"?

How we glow in response to His Promise to us all, "He that heareth my words hath everlasting life", and then from the same lips—"It were better for that man never to have been born". "On whomsoever this stone shall fall it shall grind him to powder."

5. Yes, it is a shallow nature that makes happiness the object of endeavour. It is a shallow idea of service that counts upon winning or producing happiness—that balances joys against sorrows.

To offer service in the spirit and by the standard which is Christ's means to accept new happiness and ever new sorrows and distress, both deepening with experience, both blending inseparably as we come to know more deeply those with whom or whom we serve. One who *gives* himself not to be ministered unto but to minister to others can never be wholly sad, but he will never demand unclouded happiness; with every deep consecration in the truth, in coming to know things as they really are, comes a new joy, but in the same cup a sorrow perhaps unfelt before. They who pray to sit with Jesus on His Throne may make good their claim if the Father sees them true and worthy; but they *must* drink of the same cup which Jesus drank and be baptized with the same Baptism that He is baptized with. And thus all truly dedicated lives learn little by little that what we are dedicated to is not joy or sorrow—but *to the divine idea of living and a profound obedience*—

> And thus our life
> With all it yields of joy and woe
> Of hope and fear (believe the aged friend)
> 'Tis just our chance of the prize of learning love,
> What love might be, hath been indeed, and is!

In learning that, we are given Peace not as the world gives or has any means of giving, but Peace which is unity of life, depth of life—His Gift promised and always there at hand for us.

The secret of detachment we thought was to find and to hold Christ's standard of values—I propose to-day to give some thought to the question what this standard is when applied to the idea

(*a*) of moral duty,
(*b*) of intellectual culture,
(*c*) of social life.

(*a*) MORAL DUTY.

1. The longest and most deliberate statement of Christian duty is of course to be found in the Sermon on the Mount. Men have often pointed out how largely its special precepts may be matched out of other codes. But to read it and to think of it as a code of separate precepts is certainly to miss the idea and purpose which give the three chapters in St. Matthew's Gospel their incomparable unity. Again Neander calls it "the Magna Carta of the Kingdom of God"—a fine phrase!—but too apt to obscure the simplicity of the idea which underlies it—the idea of God not as King but as Father; a phrase still more unhappy if it suggests any of the associations of a reluctant King upon the plains of Runnimede among his stern barons compelling him to give what he can only concede through fear, in a spirit of hatred.

"Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father in heaven." "Bless them that curse you that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven." "Seek God's righteousness, to be righteous like Him, with a divine capacity of likeness, because you *are* His children—and then all other ambitions and aims will fall into their right place and direction."

There is no argument for righteousness on abstract

principles or on the ground that it is the best policy; good is good because it is like the Father and we are His children; in Him we have our perfect best of all life. The standard is a personal nature, ultimate, absolute, behind which it is impossible to go.

So, again, it is *from* Him, because He is the Father, that the power comes by which that standard is to be pursued and be finally attained. Nothing here that is abstract, unhuman. It all glows with personal affection, spontaneous response, childlike obedience shining with its two-fold light, the light which comes from fulfilling a duty, because such a Father claims it; the light which the same duty wins, because we have eyes to see that *that* is the duty to be done. It is the idea of life in God's Family, of our Home in Goodness, which is naturally ours; of wickedness as exile, unnatural; of the return to goodness, of recovery, as the return to the homeland, where the soul will find its right place.

Surely it is true to say that this idea of moral duty at once goes beyond and includes the various theories of moral life which men have framed, discussed, compared. The child's instinct of childhood unites in itself the perception of its own best good with the consciousness of obligation to the Father's Will. So in the world which Christ reveals as one Family of human nature, the utilitarian and the intuitional theories of duty blend in harmony—the soul serving God as its Father lives in the combined power of the two.

2. Then we ask what does Christ mean by conforming to this standard? In what sense or way do we reach it? The moment we ask the question we become aware of the distance which separates His teaching from the rules and the tradition of the Pharisees as they hold up their scroll of precepts and say "Observe *them*, live by them"! No less do we feel the ineffectiveness, the limitations of the teaching which sets up a hero or a saint—nay even the teaching which bids us make Jesus our hero—whose life seems to move outside ours on a wholly unattainable plane. The

answer of Jesus is quite different. Be like your Father, He declares; but the possibility of likeness is there, and lies in the fact that He *is* your Father, you are His children, and in that fact the kind of likeness is decreed. When you pray to Him say "Our Father, Thy will be done on earth, Thy standard accepted, Thy purpose served, just as it is accepted, served in Thy Eternal Presence." Therefore moral progress, the struggle to reach the standard, is man's struggle to come to himself—to the conviction and the reality of His own life as God's own Son.

(i) How abundantly, how simply our Lord brings this out in His treatment of the sinner—"Moses in the Law commanded that such should be stoned." So the Scribes and Pharisees—in the Law commanded—*such*. There is no thought of the individual with his uniqueness, his own preciousness, his own destiny—only of sin, law, Moses, the absolute standard free from all obtrusive sympathies. "He that is without sin among you let him cast the first stone"; so our Lord. "I do not condemn thee: the sin is loathsome; it is unnatural, it is unlike you; go, be *yourself*!"

(ii) Or think of the meaning which our Lord gives to self-sacrifice, renunciation, the instrument used by all the moral discipline the world has ever known.

"Not because you have not deserved to enjoy what you give up, not because it is wicked to enjoy it, but because there is a joy in store more worthy of your nature, therefore let the lower go."

"What shall I do that I may attain to enjoy eternal life?" And Jesus points out the line of milestones that mark the higher way—humanity, purity, honesty, brotherly love. "Yes I know: those have always been my aspiration, my standard. Why am I left unsatisfied? What lack I yet? How shall I make self-sacrifice real?" The answer—"Go sell all that thou hast—not because you do not deserve wealth—not because it is wicked to be rich—but because you will win your freedom and be led to the Father."

I wonder whether his sadness was the sadness of the rescued slave, who shrinks to give up old familiar ties and associations and is bewildered as he faces his new life of liberty?

(iii) If we had time we might work out another instance of the nature of Christ's appeal, and show that the violent reactions, the vehement hostility which His teaching provoked prove how the standard He sets up, to which He recalls men, is utterly unlike any law of impersonal abstract right and wrong. Violent reactions, because the deepest mortification is the sting of a wounded, a wronged conscience. He appealed only to conscience, the consciousness of what men claimed to be and indeed were, if only they would be equal to their own conception, if only they would come to themselves; that explains and makes itself heard in the tempest of accusation and blasphemy. To as many as receive Him, and accept the estimation He gives of what human nature can be, can do, of what human service is, of what our life is in the Mind of God, to them He gives the power, the authority to be God's sons.

3. Then we are set thinking of Christ's—the Christian—moral treatment of human kind; His discipline, His threats and punishments; think how always with these, there is the appeal to the sense of privilege, to self-respect. Remember the penalty He laid down for Compromise and for unfaithful consecration, but He will not leave us at that; He goes on "He that loseth his life for my sake, he shall find himself——" It is the revelation of blessing through the dreadfulness of its opposite. Or think of the natural place in life which He gives to the machinery of duty, the forms through which goodness may be cultivated. It is easy enough to preach the doctrine of abandoning all forms and outward means. It is not what our Lord preaches. He sets us something harder, because He believes in us. He demands their true adjustment, because in the truest, healthiest family life they are so adjusted. He himself

insists upon being baptized in Jordan; He will not refuse to pay the Temple tribute; He sends the leper to get the warrant of his cure in the prescribed way; He bids the disciples observe and do whatever the Pharisees who sit in Moses' seat shall bid them.

Or think of the directness, the solemnity with which our Lord claims of us the faithfulness of which He is the type and inspiration. "This is my commandment that ye love one another, *as I have loved you*. I in them, and Thou in me: that they all may be one in us". Was there ever such an unhesitating appeal to self-respect?

4. Finally we are bound to ask, What are the sure marks of a morality which rests upon such a faith as ours? Not in one age or set of circumstances but in all times, the witness of Christian discipleship?

We know the pre-eminence of love. Our Lord presents His thought of "commandment" in the words "Thou shalt love". Without that love, life in the family of God is meaningless.

We know well the harmony our Lord restores between the absoluteness of goodness and the varying capacities and responsibilities of men. Full of discrimination, yet never tampering with the unchangeable sanctity of goodness. Duty always measured by opportunity, but the essential idea of duty never weakened.

We know the mark of humility secured not by self-depression but by aspiration. In all Christian history it has been the souls which most looked upwards that were the humblest—seeing ever more and more opening before them the vastness of future possibilities.

We know the mark of courage and that true secret of courage and of the freedom which comes with courage, the unfaltering obedience to the Father's Will, the uncompromising surrender of anything that baulks the claim of the higher purpose, the better way. It is dependence upon God and independence of all else.

And then we turn to the Living expression—the Life revealed and lived completely in the light of this standard, moving amidst the throngs and thoroughfares of everyday life; we note (i) His incomparable efficiency, His instinct for reality, for the thing to be said and done. There is the time of preparation in the wilderness; the motive is made sure; things are thought out right through; and then the amazing rapidity with which He covers the ground—no drifting aimlessly because "the time is said not to be ripe" —no living from hand to mouth. Such a contrast to his enemies, who are always left floundering, confused, and bewildered.

But (ii) with such efficiency think of His repose. The efficient man is so often overwhelming, crushing—his boots are too big and he is too big for his boots.

Then (iii) note His moral passion. "What does it profit, if a man gain the whole world?" and (iv) that moral passion made winning, convincing by the divine sense of humour. The morally passionate are not always the most comfortable people to live with. And the sense of humour, too, is risky unless a man's religion covers the whole ground. For Jesus all is God's world, and He was at home in every part of it. And (v) all that He said and did and demanded is made so unmistakable by His clearness of spiritual vision —His serene certainty about God and His own relation to Him.

> The eye sinks inward and the heart lies plain,
> And what we mean we say and what we would we know,
> A man becomes aware of his life's flow.—

(*b*) INTELLECTUAL CULTURE.

"*If any man will to do His Will, he shall know of the doctrine.*"

"*If any man love me, he will keep my commandments and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our abode with him.*"

Here are two decisive passages in which we find something of the secret of our Lord's doctrine of what we call "intellectual culture"; they declare that in the highest things the intellect cannot work alone for the discovery of realities; truth when it is won is the possession of the whole man; it appeals to us as it is attained by the affections or accepted by the moral will.

Let us trace for a few moments the habits of mind into which our Lord trained His disciples, the habits of mind which in the life of the Church and in all intellectual progress will always express the Mind of Christ.

First, then, the habit—most obviously—of regarding the physical world, natural phenomena, as the utterance of the Divine Will—but a Will, remember, not arbitrary and capricious—a Will and purpose that express the character of the Divine Father. I think one of the most illuminating experiences of my own lifetime has been to see the battle as it was called between Faith and Science fought out, most keenly, leaving many wounds and hurts no doubt, but issuing in the truer certainty that Science must, indeed does, make great ventures of Faith, and Faith must steady and direct itself by scientific modes of thought; and that the real difference between men lies in two distinct ways of looking at the Earth: either as something holding man, feeding him, forcing him to work, but all the while external to his moral nature, unless indeed we go a step further and postulate that man has no moral nature and is of the earth, earthy. A view that tends to a hard superficialness, to the spiritual poverty of "the fingering slave, Who will peep and botanise over his Mother's grave——"

Or else, the earth phenomena are indeed in a very real sense appearances, a mode and medium of God's Revelation of Himself and of His great wide Plan, of which Man with his spiritual nature is the crown. And upon this reading of God's utterances of Himself—a reading disciplined and enlarged by growing knowledge and clearer insight—

our Lord lays all the stress. See how His parables seem always to bid us and train us to look in Nature not for the form but the soul—not merely the phenomenon but its meaning.

> To me the meanest flower that blows can give
> Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.

Then, secondly, such a habit necessarily extends itself to ventures in the region of the unexplored. The sin for which Jesus was always upbraiding the Pharisees, hypocrisy, what was it? An intellectual vice fostered by lack of spiritual insight; it was that disbelief in the Greatness of God which made it possible to dream of deceiving Him, it was a pride in themselves which fastened their eyes on the ground and prevented them from discerning the vastness of Reality. The unbelief which our Lord upbraids is not the doubt of any special doctrine but the narrow worldly temper to which the world of mystery is inconceivable. The doubter whom Christ rebukes is not the honest eager seeker after truth who has missed the highway of faith, but the unventuresome or self-complacent spirit which reduces the whole world to materialism like the Sadducee or makes duty into law and religion into ceremony like the Pharisee.

Each of them lacks outlook; to His disciples His warning, always just as much for their intellectual as for their moral life, is "Watch. Expect new things. The world is large and God is greater than our hearts and minds. Be ready for surprises. Out of darkness comes light."

So it was that in those early days when the power of Christ was making itself felt in the world, reshaping men's ideas and ways of life, this larger outlook proved to be the true power of all advance and reconstruction; it is always the secret of all intellectual progress to find in the things themselves we come to know not mere "working hypotheses" which will answer the purpose—not the mere limits of human knowledge—but calls to us to venture on;

for we look not at the things seen, but at the things unseen, eternal.

> So in man's self arise
> August anticipations, symbols, types
> Of a dim splendour ever on before
> In that eternal circle life pursues.

Then once more, how entirely beside the mark it would be—how well it might shock us!—even to suggest the question whether our Lord was or was not "a learned man". Learned or unlearned, one habit of mind which His own teaching so surely expressed was the disciplined insight of the essential principles that lie behind the forms of thought. There were the Pharisees, constantly persecuting Him with their questions, always beginning with some special Law, whether of the Old Testament or of Rabbinical tradition—always leading up to the inevitable conflict of that law in its letter and technicality with the play of human life. The Sermon on the Mount stands on the opening pages of the New Testament to declare that our mind if it is to be the mind of Christ must always be trained and disciplined to discern the principle, to see that God's laws are eternal, not arbitrary enactments to settle a special difficulty or avoid a special danger—but essential truth. Look at the instances He gives: the prohibition of murder opens out into the picture of a vigorous and living peace from which all hatred and malice and suspicion have faded away. The prohibition of adultery enlarges itself into the picture of a world all bright with purity. The command to perform an oath—to be true to one's word—expands into the promise of a life so simple, so faithful that no oath need ever be taken. Nothing, I believe, marks the limits, the narrowness, or the largeness of men's intellectual outlook more decisively than the degree in which they cultivate and disclose the power of passing from the partial and the special to the complete, to the great principles which lie beneath and are there to move human life.

And all these characteristics which I suggest of the intellectual life which Jesus taught—united and gathered up—bring us back once more to the old fundamental thought; they blend most naturally, most healthily in that primary type of true intellectual influence—the Child learning truth in the Father's home, no hard touch of intellect upon intellect but the contact of life with life, not the mere passing on of knowledge from the wise to the ignorant but the giving and receiving of a certain character. There at the back of our Lord's whole conception of intellectual culture lies the never-failing consciousness that we are God's children.

Out of all this, there are three lines of thought which present themselves about all intellectual life, if it is to be true to itself.

(1) The symmetry of man's nature: it must be regarded and treated as one whole. For instance, in any system of education which we claim as Christian, that is primarily (whatever else may follow) not something with which the Nonconformist or even the devout Agnostic need quarrel, something which will contravene the principles of no one but the materialist, the training and outlook upon life and the natural world must be that which our Lord taught. And then further we must refuse to be content with one-sided development, the exercise and development of only certain faculties, because we know that the truth which is to make men free, untrammelled to work out their true being, demands the culture not only of mind but also of affection and will.

(2) The harmony and mutual service of all knowledge. Under one Fatherhood the whole world becomes sacred. We shall resent the barren distinction between useful and useless knowledge. And we shall see a divine responsibility in each and all to train and cultivate his own intellect. Ignorance and want of culture will not be the prerogative of piety—but if they be the result of wilful negligence or

prejudice or unordered lives they will be sins against which men must struggle and for which they must repent.

(3) That "Mind of Christ" will never be dismayed by the everlasting progress of knowledge, but will always welcome it with thanksgiving. That mind will alone safeguard us against two deadly perils—the mental habit of the bigot who is frightened by the little he knows and lays down can be known, and to preserve his self-content takes refuge in that little and makes believe that that is all that can be safely known and denounces all who would venture further. The other, the mental habit of the sceptic who decides that the little we know amounts to nothing, and with this contempt for present knowledge comes the loss of vantage ground and motive for starting out into the great world that lies beyond.

Then one last thought. Our intellectual difficulties, as we call them, so real, so painful, always pressing if our faith is to be a living, growing thing. Let us be sure that as they are very seldom due to lack of intellectual acuteness but of moral power and spiritual insight, so they will be solved not by the mere processes of formal logic but by the severer discipline of man's whole being. "If any man *will* to do God's Will, he shall come to *know*." Only we shall always start out with one cardinal truth, the obstinate fact that I am a spiritual being endowed with mind and affection and will that I may learn something little by little of the Mind and Love and Purpose of Him who is the Father of us all.

In the face of the infinite greatness of the Universe, the limitlessness of the unexplained and the unexplored, in the face of my own insignificance and frail fleeting physical existence here, what alone matters in the long last is the fact that as a spiritual being I can count all that the Father does and wills as the great region for my soul to grow in; that I can learn to value the little that I know now as the pledge given me by the Father that the knowledge I now share with Him in part some day I may share completely;

so I learn not to be proud of my wisdom, or dismayed by my ignorance, but to live as the child lives in the Father's Home the happy life of true humility and unlimited hope.

(*c*) SOCIAL LIFE.

"*I looked and lo: a Lamb stood on Mount Sion and with Him one hundred and fifty and four thousand, having His name and His Father's Name written on their foreheads.*"

Here we have the picture of human society, of mankind in fellowship—transfigured finally as the Family in the House of God, the ideal towards which all human society, if it be true to itself, will with many hindrances and failures reach out. There the human beings stand in their vast choruses of thousands and thousands; all chant the same hymn; all unite in prayer and homage and serve in the same sublime duties—yet each is marked as an individual bearing the sacred name upon his forehead; each carries in his hand the white stone, on which is written a new name so intimately his own that no man knoweth it save he that receiveth it. Society and fellowship—yet the intense individuality of each member of it. Individuality emphasised, enriched by society, not lost in it; the saints of the Revelation never cease to be themselves, yet the individuality of each is heightened and purified by fellowship—and all because it is the most sublime expression of that primary truth which Jesus came to declare—the Fatherhood of God, the Sonship of man.

Let us turn to see that truth of Individuality at work in our Lord's own example and teaching.

We need not expand what is brought out so directly in our Lord's own experience, the unceasing play, the balance of Solitude and Society in His Life of service. He goes up into the mountain, but only to come down and mingle with the needs of man; first the deepening of the idea of His own life, of the fatherhood of His Father, but only so that His own life of Sonship must find itself, be multiplied, confirmed by

company with fellowmen, His *brethren*, they too children of the same Father. "Talent shapes itself in stillness; Character in the stress and activities of life." It was Goethe's wise saying. Perhaps it was our Lord's perfect balance between Society and Solitude suggested the thought.

Solitude—Society: each so often loses its value just because we fail to set them in relation to one another. Solitude becomes dreary, therefore Society becomes empty and frivolous. Solitude creates no deep sense of individuality for Society to express or to train. And yet each constantly craving for the other, not because it wants its true complement but because it is weary of itself and longs for change, "the weariness, the fever, and the fret——" and so the restlessness, the emptiness of so much of modern life.

So, too, I am often struck by seeing how the loftiness or perhaps rather the symmetry of the life of Jesus seems to escape altogether the perplexity of the questions which trouble us so often. "Peace I leave with you, not as the world giveth." The Peace which brings the gathering up of all the issues and interests in the one idea in which they all find bit by bit, by many ways, their purpose and meaning.

We and the world debate whether self-culture or service is the main thing. We vacillate aimlessly between the two. Now we shut ourselves apart and mediate and lay all the stress upon self-improvement. Now we rush out and shout about what we call "our work". And all the while we are thinking of *two* lives, not one. Jesus knows only one; all culture of His soul is part of, contributes to, our salvation; is never detached from the service of fellow-men. And all doing of His work tends to deepen and enlarge His Own Personality.

Yes—not until we cease to brawl, not until each champion of a cause seeks to understand his own truth by rounding it with his adversary's truth, which he denounces—not until the apostle of self-improvement knows that no one can

improve himself, can come to himself, by selfishness, and the apostle of usefulness knows that no one can do much for others who is not essentially himself—not till then are we fairly started on the road in the footsteps of the Son of Man—on to the City of God, the Home of our Father.

Once again in our Lord's treatment of Society, the fellowship of men and women, He always begins with the *individual*. It is a commonplace to speak of the stress which He lays upon the individual life—"not a hair of your head falleth but your Father knoweth", such is the value of the child in the eyes and for the purpose of the Father. He lays His healing hand upon this stricken life or that, wherever that little life made its own appeal to His compassion. So it is in the individual experience man's life always begins, but soon finding that there are numberless things he cannot get save in contact with humanity and nature, amid the reactions of friendship and service, save in the company of fellow-men. There are some parts of our truest life which are always in the keeping of our brethren, for which we must *go* to them. So, too, Jesus leads men to their fellows that the individual may find and be his truest self as a son in God's great family.

The great charge, I cannot help thinking, which He would bring against our modern social life as it largely presents itself to us would be just this: He would recognise much of its shams and pretentiousness and falseness; He would turn away from its mercenariness; He would weep for its seamy, sordid side—but most of all would He miss in it that power to train and shape the personal life of each individual by the revelation and conviction of the divine side of human existence—which must always be the ideal of true social living.

Our ordinary life with one another, what we call Society, becomes not the source but the grave of individuality, because it so often hangs fast in that dull region between conventional propriety and selfish expediency, and never

attains that highest conception of itself as life in the Family of God.

Think now of the Social problem: "the State and the Individual". We clamour about it and we theorise; we legislate—forgetting too often that the best community, the greatest people, are not those who enjoy this or that stysem of law or government, but the Commonwealth which contains the greatest number of men and women who are growing to be what God meant them to be. Our social problem, after all, is how we human beings can all live together best—best not for this or that class but so that each may be his best. That problem depends ultimately for its solution upon the recognition by each and by all that we are not a mere grouping of men and women, still less a herd of animals, but God's Household, in which each child is set to work out his own distinctive life in and through the common life of all.

Shall not this same primary truth disclose the secret of *Christian patriotism*? How we learn to appreciate in the Gospel story our Lord's love of what is named "His Own Country"! How human to us sounds that bitter cry, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, hadst thou but known!" It is the type and pattern of every sincerest patriot's most unselfish sorrow for his stricken land. And the secret of it? Something simpler, something deeper surely than pride in its great history, or even the land of His home with all the home ties and associations, or even the sense of what "I owe to my country", to the ages of toil and struggle and endeavour and aspiration which I have inherited, which have made for me the land I live in. Underneath, beyond all that, so Jesus reveals to us, are the interests of God which it enshrines, committed to us here and now to safeguard in our time.

Patriotism always becomes a weak and fluttering sentiment with no power to endure, or else mere boasting and self-assertion, unless men humbly strive and gratefully

come to realise that their country's greatness is not necessarily dominion or extent of territory or expanding revenue and mighty armaments, but the greatness of making its own, its precious, contribution to the righteousness and spiritual progress of the world.

We shall fight our battles in politics; strong feelings are roused and find strong expression. The controversies and struggles from generation to generation are very fierce and very real. And they will leave behind nothing but bitterness or dismay or the exultations of party triumph or blind opportunism or the dreary doctrine of the swing of the pendulum, with its dismal corollary that everything matters but nothing matters much, unless each and all in this Household of God puts into the common service the contribution that his own aptitudes and character are meant to bring—unless he recognises his own duty not merely when there is some political cry in the air or some supreme crisis of human history, but normally and always in dealing with the common sins and shames and dishonesties of every day—and unless there be one inspiring motive—the secret of constructive statesmanship—the motive which alone will enlighten and purify service and citizenship. "Because of the house of the Lord our God, because we are all children of the one Divine Father—I will seek to do good to my fellow-men."

2. CHRISTIAN DISCIPLESHIP

St. Luke xxii. 16-32.

Our Lord has instituted the Sacrament of fellowship with Him—the earnest of the life in Christ—of His promise, "Behold I am with you always"—of the blessing which He pronounces upon all those who can live and work and rest

all their life and work upon that promise. "Yea *rather* blessed are they that have not seen, not known Him in the days of His earthly ministry and yet have believed in the Risen, Ascended, Glorified Lord, always present with them who dwell in Him and He in them."

And immediately, so the Gospel story shows so often in the most moving crises, the human limitations of His chosen disciples assert themselves. They seem so short-sighted, so petty, so stupid. Immediately a contention arose among them "who should take precedence in this life of fellowship with Him?" The ugly question of precedence, which always proves and brings out the touchiness and little-mindedness of people. But mark the infinite compassion, the true condescension, the patience, the divine spirit of toleration which only fastens upon what is best in human nature and never yields its faith in men to rise to higher possibilities. No rebuke. No impatience. No sign of disappointment.

He reminds them that they have gone beyond the pagan standard of values, the pagan motives; "You are not *so*. You have nothing to do with calculations of precedence, with differences between him that sitteth at meat and him that serveth. Yours is from first to last for all alike a life like Mine. I can claim the right to Godhead; yet I am among you as One that serveth. And you are those who stayed with Me right through in the ordeal of My ministry, in the testing of My will." Of that testing the scene in the wilderness is the type of what all His life of service was throughout. The testing of perfect obedience, of utter renunciation of any motive except God's Will, of complete trust in God's way of working out His purpose. And to be a Christian is not simply to adopt the Christian view of life, to accept the Christian standard of values, to declare that Christianity presents a higher ideal of human life and society than any other system. It is to be united with Christ in the ordeal of life—to stay with Him in all the testing—to grow into His

Likeness as the child develops the likeness to its parent because the life of the parent is in the child to begin with.

It is just at this point—this steadfastness in Christ—that the sifting of true from superficial discipleship comes. "Simon, Simon, Satan, worldly motives, worldly short-sightedness, worldly standards, they always claim you, disciples, as their own and will always sift you like wheat." But I have prayed—then mark! Not for you as a body of men—but for thee and thee and thee—each with his own difficulties in his own circumstances—that their faith fail not; each and all are endowed with faith, that divine capacity which enables each "to pass beyond our nature's bounds"—to grasp the reality of this life in Christ, in which we all share, to which all our service, our round of duties, our occupations, our aims, our interests make some contribution.

"And when you have fastened upon *that* view of what you are, of what your life is, then share it with your brethren, with one another, and give them strength."

Notice how all through the Gospels this *sifting* of discipleship is always going on—illustrated alike by incident and by parable, *e.g.*:

(*a*) "They all with one consent began to make excuses." All had been invited, all had been ready to respond to the offer; all are prepared to admit that what our Lord bids us do and be is most reasonable and full of promise. Then when the critical occasion comes, it is so easy to believe that our particular circumstances, our particular temperament, make whole-hearted acceptance impossible—or that our particular choice can make no difference.

(*b*) "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" I am prepared to do everything prescribed by my bringing up, by what I have been taught, by what social conventions demand. "Yet one thing thou lackest." And so comes the failure to trust our Lord so implicitly that in spite of all our distrust of self we shall follow His way.

(*c*) "Lord," we cry, "I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest." Yes, in all the impulse of eager enthusiasm; but have you counted the cost? it is not an easy, a smooth way I take you—full of perplexities and hard choices. And then we find the demands upon our steadfastness increasing and it is so natural to drift on to the lower levels and draw the line of discipleship just at the point which suits our convenience or our habits. "Ye have not so learned Christ." Let that mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus. The glory of our Lord's Ministry is the willing surrender of that which belonged to Him, which He might always have claimed and enjoyed and voluntarily resigned that He might serve the highest purpose. In the Garden of Gethsemane: "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray the Father and He will presently send me more than twelve legions of angels?" But how then should God's purpose of Redemption be fulfilled, be worked out in His Own Way?

What our Lord would have us recognise is our true nobility in mounting to the highest level of motive. The service which He requires is not some heroic or arresting act of devotion or of asceticism, but in the routine of work and duty, in our daily contacts with others, to school our wills to correspond with God's will, our instinct for seeing and following the higher way. There come times in the lives of all of us when we can see that there is something which is ours by right, which no one can blame us if we take and enjoy to the fullest, yet something by the voluntary and uncompelled surrender of which we may help our fellow-men and share the work and mind of Christ.

Whenever, wherever that choice of the higher way is made, we go up and stand humbly but really with Jesus as His disciple. We enter that higher range of living where Jesus lived, and our dissatisfactions with our aims and efforts and abilities are no longer there to clog us. You remember Enoch Arden when he had made his resolve and

determined for the sake of the peace and welfare of another not to claim the home to which he had the fullest right:

> He was not all unhappy. His resolve
> Upbore him, and firm faith, and evermore
> Prayer from a living source within the will,
> And beating up thro' all the bitter world,
> Like fountains of sweet water in the sea,
> Kept him a *living soul.*

That is the mark of the self-mastery which St. Paul declares to be the climax of the fruits of the Spirit. It is the sure mark of a faith "that fails not".

3. SPIRITUAL INFLUENCE

"*The wind bloweth where it listeth; thou canst not tell—; so is everyone that is born of the spirit.*"

We came here for spiritual recreation, to renew our spiritual powers—the power that is of receiving and responding to the Spirit of God—to keep fresh in heart and mind the fact which, as I was saying, matters most about all of us, that we are spiritual beings, that our work, whatever it is, God means somehow to be spiritual work, to have a spiritual influence. But, remember, we can never make it that out of ourselves, merely by our own efforts. We look to and rely upon a power that comes from God.

Let us before we go away sum up a few plain thoughts about this spiritual influence, the working of the Holy Spirit in and through us, very perplexing, mysterious, incalculable. Perplexing and incalculable, yes, but our Lord bids us "Marvel not"; do not lose yourselves in speculations, in wondering, when I tell you that under the plastic touch of the Spirit of God there comes an inward

change, a change from sophisticated tastes and habits, a change to the simple motives and desires of a child, once more at home in the Family of God. Ye are born again: laying aside all malice, guile, hypocrisy, envies, as new-born babes ye desire the pure milk of the word, that ye may *grow* thereby. The awakening of a new divine life—a new meaning given to outward objects and events; in the heart of the unbeliever a calm, unanxious trustfulness, self-forgetfulness, freedom from harassing care, the reliance of the little child upon the father's ability to provide for its needs.

It is a marvellous change: we are perplexed to know how and why it can come about in ourselves; why it should be so capricious, fitful. "I can never count on its happening to *me*." "Marvel not," says our Lord: "Look at the passing breeze; it bloweth where it listeth; thou canst not tell; so is every one that is born of the spirit."

From Nature and the action of the wind, our Lord would have us learn three truths about the work of the Spirit of God.

First, its supernaturalness.

In our day we need to gain a new, real sense of the supernatural.

Ignorance and superstition ascribe natural events, as we call them, almost wholly to supernatural agencies; and ignorance is the mother of false forms of worship. Then as knowledge advances a man begins to understand the sequence of cause and effect, and to refer everything to "laws of Nature". We begin to imagine that when we have specified the physical causes of phenomena we have completely accounted for them. The ground that is lost to superstition is not necessarily won for religion. We feel the pressure of this tendency in the world of morals. How easy to think that the advantages of good surroundings, of good education and training, *account* for the strength of our character—that the sobering effect of years and of responsibility have made a careless, irreligious youth into a

thoughtful, serious man—that the influence of a friend, of some tremendous sorrow, opened a man's eyes to the deeper realities, to truth.

But the thought of the Spirit of God in all these instances working in human hearts is unfamiliar or regarded as mystical, something that belongs to the domain of theology —not within the range of everyday experience. Yet Nature herself has declared to patient, reverent scientific minds in answer to their questions that they can indeed discover a regular sequence of events, the ways, that is, in which the Author of Nature generally chooses to work, the rules He himself has imposed. And all Nature tells of His perpetual renewing influence; for renewal, activity, can never be the mark of material things in themselves; renewal, activity, dwell only in a Person, a willing, thinking, living Agent.

Marvel not, then; if every echoing wind speaks of a present power of God, shall it seem strange to appeal to His Power in the reshaping of the Soul? in moving the Spirit of Man towards a nobler than earthly destiny?

Secondly, its apparent arbitrariness, its real sovereignty.

This work of the Spirit of God seems so capricious, so arbitrary. Some nations endowed with rare spiritual insight, like the Hebrews; yet others in the same surroundings dull, profitless, uninspired, uninspiring, like the Philistine.

So with individuals: a timely word, a look of affectionate appeal, will go straight to the heart of one; upon another all the strength of reason and logical argument and the powers of eloquence will be spent in vain. From the furnace of affliction one heart comes forth subdued, softened, spiritualised; another callous and hardened. Why should the Spirit of God work in the one instance and not in the other? Or, greatest puzzle of all—if selfishness and sin and all hindering of God's work disfigures the face of God's earth, how can the Divine Compassion survey it and not answer the prayer, "Come from the four winds, O Breath, and breathe upon these dead that they may live". "Marvel

not," says our Lord; be not disquieted because you cannot explain the laws through which the Infinite Agent works. Is it strange that the ways of the Spirit of God are unaccountable to us, when we cannot even reduce to law the everyday phenomenon of the wind? One day breathing in softness, refreshing, renewing the face of the earth: another day, rushing in storm, spreading desolation and havoc.

Yet we know this capriciousness is only apparent. There must be law that regulates it; nothing in Nature really acts at random. Though we know but little about the wind, one thing we do know, that it is always blowing to those quarters of the heavens that have become ready to receive it.

So is every one that is born of the Spirit. It is ours not to criticise, to dictate to God how He should work, not to doubt—but to prepare our hearts, to cleanse them, to keep them aglow to receive His Spirit.

Then, thirdly, the secret, imperceptible character of the work of the Spirit.

Thou canst not tell. No one ever sees the wind: indeed, the forces and agencies of this natural world (*e.g.* gravitation, magnetism) are in themselves unknown, imperceptible; but we do know them by their effects, and we rely upon them every day for the practical purposes of life.

So, too, you shall never perceive the passing to and fro of this mysterious drawing to God of man, and of God to man, the breath of the Spirit wafted over any sinner's soul; but by the effects we do know the reality of it—by the beauty and fragrance of a saintly life, its truthfulness, its gentleness, its self-denial—by evil passions rooted up, obstacles to holiness swept away—by the sorrow and penitence, the prayer of a soul before the Infinite Mercy.

And all this, our Lord's Teaching about the Spirit of God and its working, leaves us with one or two practical lessons to guide us.

1. Despair of success that will bring any satisfaction

without the Spirit. Pray always for It. Your Heavenly Father will give His Holy Spirit to them that ask Him. This then must always be the right object of our prayer. God may not will our material prosperity, or the attainment of this or that end of our work or ambition, but our spiritual welfare, our growth in His likeness as His children is dearer to Him than to ourselves. Nothing that contributes to our goodness, to our faith, our keenness will He ever withhold.

2. But we are also given encouragement to prayer and effort. For this gift on which we rely is limitless. With the power of God, with the infinite resources of His Grace at our command, no man need despair of moral recovery, no attainment in holiness is beyond our reach.

Mere resolves of self-reformation soon prove to be disappointing—but turning to God with the simple trust that He has His gift of the Holy Spirit for *me* will never fail, for in His sight I am of infinite worth, in Him I am not limited or straitened. Why then should I limit, straiten myself? It must be mere presumptuousness to say that God in making me a spiritual being made a hopeless blunder.

True; again and again the heart does draw near to God in simple trust and sincere dedication, but the promise seems to fail—no answering Communion with Him seems to come. Day follows day, year it may be year, and we shrink away, perhaps, when we hear others speak of the joy and growing strength of this fellowship with God. We begin to distrust ourselves, and doubt the truth of it all.

And, *then*, our Lord bids us never to accept exclusion. No matter how long delayed the Presence of God, we are never to condemn ourselves to be unworthy, for He never condemns us to be unworthy.

3. But we all do know *some* times of His Visitation, hours of insight when the things of time seemed to lose their hold upon us. Cling to those times, treasure them as our most precious possessions. They are God's pledges to us that He is with us, working in us, working through us.

4. Yes, working *through* us. Because the Spirit is life it works through living human agents. The fruitfulness, the effect of our work for others, is not to be measured or even planned by us—Our part is the discipline of ourselves—the discipline of motive, in spirituality flowing out into holiness of life, not surface goodness but the deepening sense of trusting God and being with Him. It means searching questions: Is my motive merely to win commendation, to escape censure? or is it devotion to Christ? the longing to win His Compassion and approval? Do I hate unworthiness only because it means unworthiness of His unbounded Love? Do I desire to win the Spirit of Christ only that I may be truly His own? And sooner or later as we discipline and prepare ourselves, the results of the Divine work of the Spirit will be known to us, or unknown to us but known to others. Let me pass on to you, for your inevitable hours of struggle and discouragement and self-abasement the experience of which a Deaconess told me the story when I was Bishop of Southwark.

She worked in one of the worst and most difficult streets of Battersea; she had set her heart on winning for Christ one of the most degraded women in that street. She tried again and again to visit her, to get to know, to find occasions to speak with her. It was all in vain. Finally she went up to her at her doorway and appealed to her. "I *must* come and talk to you, I am sent to you by my Lord and Master whom I try to serve." She was repulsed by a hideous blasphemy. The Deaconess went away humiliated —not blaming the woman, or deploring her evil surroundings, not thinking of her as "hopeless", only humiliated in knowing that she herself was not a worthy instrument to be used by the Spirit of God to win a soul so precious as that. She determined to discipline herself more strictly; to press forward to deeper recesses of prayer and fellowship with God, to work more humbly. At the end of some eighteen months, that same Battersea woman, whom the

Deaconess had often seen but never presumed to address, of her own accord called her in the street and invited her into her house; she wanted to speak to her, to be taught by her, to be baptized and received into the Church. "What, who has helped you? persuaded you, wrought such a change?" "I don't know," says the woman, "somehow it came about as I *watch'd ye goin' about yer work!*"

There is the viewless, majestic power of the Spirit of God —so much mightier, more majestic than anything we dare imagine.

"Sit splendor Domini nostri super nos!" "May the Glorious Majesty of the Lord our God be upon us. O prosper thou the work of our hands upon us: O prosper thou our handywork."

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS TO ARTHUR KEMBALL COOK

NOTE.—The order of these letters is in one or two cases uncertain, since in dating them Dr. Burge himself never gave the year. The position and length of the numerous omissions is not noted. Not a few of them concern arrangements for walks with Cook.

S.S. "DURHAM CASTLE", TENERIFFE.
October 13, 1910.

I mustn't write a letter—so I resort to the subterfuge of a line to tell you we are having perfect weather—a smooth sea even through the Bay—and a most comfortable ship. . . . You are all daily in my thoughts, and I have been attending at School regularly even morning lines. My watch keeps Winchester time, and is not allowed to regard the fact that we are now 13 degrees West.

I believe I am beginning to get fat!

LAT. 15° SOUTH, LONG. 1° EAST.
1910.

. . . I have managed to find a good deal of interest in some of my fellow-voyagers—South Africans returning to their work—nearly all are engaged in farming of different kinds or in administration; and one feels that these are the real makers of the country, and not the magnates who suck the reefs of gold and then go off. These chats have brought home to me the bigness as well as the immense possibilities of the land in a way in which I never realised them before. We are looking forward to a day or two on Rhodes' Fruit Farms near Stellenbosch, and some short expeditions in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, and hope to reach Durban on November 13. We are *longing* for

letters! And I suppose public events of the last three weeks are lost to us for ever. In another three weeks of this I shall be reduced to the condition of knowing that "everything matters but nothing matters much". Have the Germans landed? Has the House of Lords or the House of Commons been abolished or both? Has a Royal Commission decided that Headmasters are useless and the *unum porro necessarium* is a Resident Warden? What does it matter? I have discovered that there's plenty of room for all of us somewhere on this planet.

My eye is much about the same, but I am wonderfully well. I still long to do some work, but I suppose that will wear off in time. We have a jolly plan of going through to Ladysmith and then Johannesburg (and a gold mine) and picking up our boat at Delagoa Bay. It seems quite easy, and I hope we shall carry it out. There! That's the limit. I mustn't write any more.

BISHOPSCOURT, CLAREMONT, CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.
November 6, 1910.

We are staying here for a few days with the Archbishop of Cape Town, and start off again for Durban on Wednesday at daybreak. Freddie Baines is here; I gave him messages and have had talks about his School. I am sending you a line to tell you about our dinner last Monday night with Dr. Jameson, where we all talked politics for hours. I found myself in the very nest of his party—Dr. Smart, Drummond Chaplin (an old Univ. contemporary), Sir G. Farrer, Mr. Maydon, M.P. for Maritzburg and a member of the Senate here, and others. As to their own politics, this party is satisfied with the elections and feels strong to "keep Botha in order". Towards Botha they expressed the strongest distrust, chiefly on the ground that in delimiting the constituencies he—so they say—dodged the mining centres and swamped them in the veldt vote.

There is great indignation against Herzog and his "bilingual" educational policy—which they say is meant to stamp out the English teacher. I was surprised to hear it said so confidently that the Dutch party aimed at the old unprogressive isolated state and wished to get rid of all this bustling competition in the world's markets. To my mild suggestion that if that was true, Dr. J.'s party had an overwhelming force on its side, namely Time, there was an impatient chorus of reply that it was very hard to fight the battle all over again from the beginning—not with fire-arms it is true—but with votes. I think myself that Rhodesia, not yet included in the Union, and ultimately *bound* to dominate the whole situation *and* thoroughly English, will in the long run determine the question which way South Africa is to go. But Dr. J.'s party (*not* Dr. J.) won't have any waiting; they are in a desperate hurry. (I wish they would travel in bullock waggons and not in 80 h.p. motors.) The same hurry in their ideas about English politics; our able politicians are all "academic": those that are not academic are not able—no "national spirit": no sense of the "larger question", which means a federated Parliament. But I didn't observe any enthusiasm about the welfare or the advancement of other colonies. The theme they harped on was the decay of the Mother Country—lagging behind others (especially Germany) and becoming degenerate in physique—and then I came upon *the* underlying sentiment which unites Dutch and English: Germany is to go to war with England and overpower her: South Africa to be handed over to Germany as the prize of war: the one thing the Dutchman abhors more than anything is the idea of German dominion—*therefore*, to make themselves secure, all Colonials provide for their own defence, and cut the painter. I am only giving you an impressionist picture of the sort of talk that went on. If you ask them point-blank "Do you want an independent United States of South Africa?" they all say, "No; we

don't dream of that": but if you analyse their criticisms of the Mother Country and their attitude towards it, you find that it all comes round to that—(of course, John X. Merriman, who was staying at our hotel and seemed to me much the most interesting of all of them, would shout "Yes" with exultation). Dr. J. is a most charming fellow. I quite understand how people become very much attached to him—but his party seems to have no real ideals, and their conception of a great country seems to be that of a vast Park Lane. Many people out here are completely abject in their worship of Rhodes, and repeat (I have no doubt quite out of their context) certain of his axioms—that everything must be *practical* (by the way there is nothing much more unpractical in the world than his own monument on Table Mountain—a great flight of steps like the Propylaea and a *sort* of Grecian temple and it ends in nothing). Also a fearful dread of the intellectual man or point of view. Rhodes appears (according to his devotees) to have retained all the passman's contempt for the Honour Man. There's a big question on in the establishment of a Resident University at Cape Town; and there'll be some interesting object-lessons in Finance when it comes to discussing and adjusting uniform duties over the whole Union. I mustn't ramble on any more. The country round here is quite enchanting; Constantin on one side, and the Stellenbosch district and the fruit farms up in the Drakensberg Mount—all is *wonderfully* beautiful.

I wish I could describe to you the old Dutch house and the lovely gardens and trees where I am staying this Sunday. The Headmaster of the Diocesan College and I walked side by side in the Cathedral to-day at the Service; two Wykehamists have been his predecessors. There! that's all I'm allowed to-day.

January 1, 1911.

We reached Marseilles five days late, and had to face a gale all the way from Malta to Naples and thence to Marseilles: but a most welcome budget of Christmas greetings awaited us there, and we thought no more of wind and storm. Your own greeting delighted me more than I can say . . .

Our trip up the East Coast was most interesting, and not so hot as we expected, and the Red Sea especially was wonderfully kind—a nice cool breeze the whole way, with beautiful sky and sea; I had no idea the Red Sea and the Coast were so lovely—ranges of great red mountains one behind the other further than eye can see, and now and again gleaming white Arab cities along the shore. Zanzibar in my experience stands all by itself: we spent six hours there in the company of Phillips' sister, who works at the Mission: the island itself is *wonderfully* picturesque, and the town with its narrow crooked streets, its lovely Arab doorways carved in wood, its Oriental bazaar, its inhabitants, Arab, Madrasees, Swahili, besides all sorts and kinds of Europeans, made a quite indescribable impression. We spent three days at Mombasa, and were fortunate enough in getting to know the Government Transport Commissioner, who called upon us. There we had a taste of tropical heat; perhaps the most entertaining episode was our walk through a forest of mangoes, coco-nut trees, and tropical vegetation, where Sir Bartle Frere settled the slaves who were rescued from the dhows. The natives and native huts dotted about in the forest were very interesting and picturesque. Another interesting place in quite a different way was Port Sudan; Suakin was given up as a port because of the difficulty of access, and the English, with that characteristic method of thieving which we call philanthropy and the progress of civilisation, quietly appropriated an excellent harbour, which they call Port

Sudan: it is to be the harbour for Khartoum and the Upper Nile, and to enable our occupation of the Sudan to be more or less independent of Egypt. As yet it consists of a few corrugated iron dwellings, one or two large official buildings, a row of shops half-finished sprouting out of the desert, and a native quarter full of camels. I happened to know the Governor (one of the Sudan Civil Servants) and his deputy used to attend my lectures at Oxford; so I obtained a great deal of very interesting information. I think perhaps as entertaining as anything was the company you have on board up the East Coast—an extraordinary contrast to that on the West Coast journey—not many, but a great variety; government officials of the East Africa Protectorate (a very good type of young English Public School men, genuinely enthusiastic about the development of British East Africa), missionaries, German as well as English, young medical men studying tropical diseases, one or two explorers, big game hunters and huntresses, and real settlers. I got a much better idea of what English colonising is in temper as well as in act than I ever had before. By the way, I think you would enjoy reading Sir Charles Eliot's *British East Africa Protectorate*, an excellent, well-written account of our aims and methods there as well as of the native tribes. It's awful to think how I shall bore you when we walk together again! I mustn't write more now. I shall be here, I hope, till the 22nd with the Walter Smiths: it is jolly to be in touch with Winchester once more!

HÔTEL SPLENDIDE, PORTOFINO-MARE, N. ITALY.
February 9, 1911.

. . . We have discovered a beautiful sunny corner here. I wonder if you know it. Portus Delphini somewhere in Tac. Histories if I remember right. I should say in connection with Othos' last campaign, but I am probably

wrong. (I believe I have forgotten all that I ever even thought I knew.) Anyhow it is a most picturesque spot, bathed in sunshine all day—lovely olive woods and vineyards, and then higher up, pines, rising to about two thousand feet; we have found innumerable rambles and I have got my land legs again. I am indebted to Walter Smith for the suggestion, and must write him a line to tell him what a success our visit here is. I think we shall certainly stay till the end of the month. In spite of its magnifical title, the hotel is fairly modest and there are just a few quiet people staying in it; amongst them Miss Lidderdale, sister of the Wykehamist in Morshead's house, and a Miss McConnel, aunt of our ilk. We have a charming little sitting-room of our own, and are able to make ourselves homely—immersed in Rosebery's *Chatham*, and Dizzy's Life, Volume I., and *Coningsby*. Rosebery's book I find extremely interesting. I have never realised before that representation of George II. (R. makes one quite sympathise with him), nor have I known Pulteney or Henry Fox at all in the same way. What an odd sort of intriguing family-jobbing business politics were in those days—and how very petty and personal the questions upon which some of the big debates took place! I wonder whether there is—behind the scenes—as much of or anything like the same scheming and arranging nowadays? I think Lord Salisbury showed something of the same skill in his making peers important. The book seems to me to be very well done. And what queer exaggerated stuff *Coningsby* is! It is years since I read it—wonderfully modern, and clever in its presentment of the new ideas; it's interesting to find the attack upon the Whigs of the eighteenth century expressed in terms like these: "It is in the plunder of the Church that we must seek for the primary cause of our political exclusion and our commercial restraint. That unhallowed booty created a factitious aristocracy ever fearful that they might be called

upon to re-gorge their sacrilegious spoil." Why, it almost reads like Lloyd George (without the spice!). However, all this is as nothing compared with the interest of the situation in England. I long for every newspaper I can get; so far I have only got the best of the King's Speech, combined with the most awful nonsense about ——, the sole representative of secondary education on this planet; the sixth Form at Charterhouse I'll trouble you telling Cambridge University whom to vote for! I do dislike this idea of finding a special representative for every conceivable interest. What is representation? (see Mill). I think if Kitty had met a certain Colonel Fanshawe, who was in our hotel in Algiers, and discoursed quite dogmatically of the hopeless mess of England, owing to the political power of these d——d Trades Unions, or a certain retired Indian Doctor who was quite convinced of the overthrow of England by Germany in the next two or three years, she would have either murdered them or died on the spot. Both of them thought Count Donner und Blitzen was a real person, who was on the General Staff, and nothing that I said could persuade them that Sir Hell and Blazes couldn't be a real man—or if he was his opinion wouldn't be worth much. But I really mustn't waste any more of your time—when you can spare me a line, you know that you will do me as much good as the sunshine and our clear blue sky. . . .

Hôtel des Roches Rouges, Agay, (Var.)
March 14, 1911.

We have been on the move and are getting within reach of home. Our time at Portofino was the greatest possible success—perfect weather, a great variety of beautiful walks and expeditions and peace and quiet—I have not felt so well and fresh for work for a long time, and it's going to be real work when I get back, and no more mere pre-

tending to be busy! My wife's uncle, Dr. Charles Bright, who has practised for thirty years and more in Cannes, recommended Vence and Agay to us, and I can thoroughly recommend both. Vence is a little country town about one thousand feet up in the hills behind Cagnes; it seems to be impossible for an Englishman to ask for a ticket to Cagnes without being given a ticket to Cannes. I did my best, and made a noise resembling a dog howling, but it was no good—the official would not believe it. However, we did arrive at Vence and enjoyed a few days of most charming walks—rocky bare hills cut into sharp bluffs and precipices. One walk as fascinating as anything I have ever known to an old-world walled town perched on the very edge of a most striking precipice looking down on the valley two thousand feet below, and across a deep rocky gorge with a rushing torrent called Le Loup. The little town is Gourdon. The whole countryside fragrant with beds of violets, which the people cultivate, pick in bunches, pack in sacks, and send off to Paris and Nice and the fashionable towns. I wish we could have made a longer stay at Vence: we were unable to get rooms that would do to settle down in—so we came on here to the Esterels; rugged red rocks and pine forest. I withdraw most of my abuse of the Riviera now that I know it is not by any means all roulette and pigeon-shooting. Vence and Agay seem to be little explored by the English; we find very few visitors who are not French; and the number altogether is small. I think we may be coming home a little earlier than we planned, as Horris Hill begin their holidays next week owing to the epidemics with which, poor things, the Evans have been battling all the Term. We shall go straight to Hepple. It is *very* tempting, I need not say, to swoop down to Winton and finish up the Term—but I am strictly forbidden; I can't think why, unless it be to spare a jaded staff the sight of a great red-faced colleague bubbling over with health and energy.

It was very good of you to send me Mrs. Morshead's letter; I also wrote to her, and received a long letter from her; it is too piteous to think of, and I cannot imagine any greater trial than hers—to feel she is thus severed from her dear husband. I refuse to think of him except as the most brilliant of minds and the heartiest and truest of friends. We were delighted to get Kitty's letter and to hear her news—what a turmoil of politics! I do detest all these tactics—the refusal to face and discuss and settle the question at issue, and all the shabby manœuvres that go on lowering the character of the House of Commons. But I suppose ever since the Reform Bill the Tories have always distrusted and tried to fetter the House of Commons, and the Referendum is the last desperate resort.

We finished Dizzy, Volume I. and *Coningsby*; and both exclaimed in one breath, "What a clever detestable cad!" He ought to have ended up as Sultan: but we have to think of him in fact as standing in bronze before Westminster Abbey and the Saint of Primrose Day! One couldn't help thinking all the time of the contrast with Volume I. of Gladstone's Life, and I am bound to say the Grand Old Man does seem a trifle "dull" in comparison. I wonder though how anybody ever felt they could trust Dizzy.

I suppose you are off to Keswick for the holidays; I am beginning to count the days to our next walk together, somewhere about May 4, I trust, at latest. We shall go back to Winchester about April 25 to get things straight, and deal with piles of arrears. You all seem to have had a wonderfully good term in the way of health, and I hope you have been keeping thoroughly well yourself.

I apologise for the envelopes: they are the best the village supplied, and that too at a shop which chiefly professes oranges, dried figs, halfpenny smokes, and *épicerie*.

24, Norfolk Crescent, Hyde Park, W.
March 23, 1911.

One line to tell you that I have just had a long interview with the oculist; he is very much pleased; says that I have made a "splendid recovery" . . . the weak eye, he says, "would pass for the Army" (which may or may not be a merit, say I—it depends upon the shortage of officers). Of course, full permission to do full work next term. And it's going to be real work now; no more pretending to be busy. We are just off to Hepple to-morrow. I know I shall have the full sympathy of all in my gladness as I have had in fullest measure in my trial.

Hepple, Rothbury, Northumberland.
August 11, 1911.

. . . Grass never looked to me so green, nor hills so lovely, nor Nature so full of peace and repose as it does this summer up here. We are living out of doors from 8 A.M. till 10 P.M. and revelling in idleness.

I can't think what has come over [a certain statesman]: I read his speeches and find them pure nonsense—am I losing my wits or what? Why does he assume that he alone is a hero dying for a "principle" and that there is no principle for which the Government have stood all along? His principle looks to me very like personal prejudice against Asquith. . . .

Hepple.
September 11, 1911.

The time has slipped by and I seem to have been writing to everybody in South London and never a word to you. . . . Rum things happen; a year ago I didn't expect to find myself dealing with a curate of extremely High Church doctrines who "marries" his Aunt in a Registry Office—

nor a cantankerous old fellow of eighty who is at loggerheads with his parish and won't resign—nor a French Priest (R.C.) of sixty-five, who asks me to admit him to our Church and then allows me to extract from him the admission that he wishes to marry—nor an irascible retired Naval Captain who objects to my going to the Prime Minister's garden party. "Quidquid agunt homines . . . *nostrae* farrago *tabellae* est"—and what a *farrago* my programme for "Short Half"! You never saw such a ramshackle lot of engagements; and how anyone can suppose that any of them can do anyone the slightest good is beyond my powers of imagination, and even the limits of my vanity. I shall console myself by believing that it will do *me* good and no one else harm—which makes one to the good.

We *have* enjoyed the lovely weather these holidays—a lot of gardening—our now familiar expeditions, sitting about on the hill-side, and delightful spells of reading. . . . I shall run down to see you one Saturday at Winchester, and ask you to take me for a walk over the Downs. I have got every Saturday quite clear all through the Autumn until January 1, in order to get a blow somewhere in the country. I like your plan for the future, immediate and less immediate, very much. I can't imagine anything more delightful than a time abroad with no particular date to limit you and no sense whatever that you ought to be doing something else. I remember well Wickham's letters, brimming with the happiness of entire freedom when he wintered in Florence after giving up Wellington. I don't think you need have the slightest qualms about living in Winchester; and I can't help thinking that you will find and feel it much the most natural thing to do. Even the instinct of getting up at 6.30 A.M. and going up to Books will wear off after a few years! We were not much disturbed here by the strikes, although we began to be alarmed about food supplies. It is a horrid business; such deepening dis-

trust of one another on the part of the employers and the employed—and the employed, mind you, are engaged in a business I suppose the most eagerly sought after of any; the sense of grievance which provokes them to go to any and all lengths—and the *apparent* insignificance of the point ultimately in dispute. I wonder what is at the back of it all. There's such a lot of screaming and personal abuse and exaggerated language that I find it extraordinarily difficult to think or hear clearly. I suppose I mustn't go prattling any more.

Bishop's House, Kennington Park, S.E.
April 4, 1912.

Your letter was most refreshing—it was such a comfort to think of you out of all this worry and suspense, up in those delicious pine woods or amongst the tall heather above Portofino with glimpses across the sea of the Carrara Mountains. You must show me your sketches when you come home—I have not been able to write before, and indeed expect only a few minutes' scribble now, as one of my suffragans got ill in the very most crowded time of confirmations, and I have been trying to "fit in" his work with mine and have only spent three evenings at home since the beginning of February; this sounds heroic, and is supposed by the way we measure things nowadays to be a mark of efficiency, but it's really just the reverse, as the succeeding generation will soon discover. However, although I am morally and intellectually rapidly degenerating, physically I am beyond reproach. Asquith has put me on the Royal Commission to investigate Civil Service appointments, and we have already had a couple of sittings: Lord Macdonell is quite excellent as Chairman, and more able a man than I had fancied—a real "scholar" in the accurate way in which he sets about "envisaging" a point. Snowden is also quite interesting, though dread-

fully prejudiced. We expect to be at it twice a week for fourteen months. I wish you were on it. I think we have only just begun on the fringe of the Industrial question: there is no settlement of any kind so far—only a makeshift to get work started again somehow, and then I hope real measures will be taken to see how copartnership can *gradually* be made to work. Meantime these local boards will be, I am afraid, a source of continual friction. The orderly temper and restraint of everyone concerned have been most striking, and I think this means that as labour finds its demands being recognised the moderates will prevail and will repudiate revolutionary methods. There will be a *real* issue between the advocates of State Ownership and Copartnership, and I fear the struggle will produce a good deal of confusion. Everyone seems to feel that the Labour "leaders" (!) have stultified themselves very hopelessly: and have never led at any time, least of all at the critical finish. The *one* important question is how to get large masses of men to make an enlightened and responsible use of power? I think Burke said first that the chances of this are in inverse ratio to the numbers, unless "quidquid multis peccatur inultum" means the same thing. Forgive me for wandering on like this, but it is the only thing we are thinking of over here. I can tell you it is pretty stirring to go down and hear people talk in Bermondsey in times like these. *You* are breathing the pure air of Parnassus and walk in the company of the saints! (You might just go and look up Propertius, iv. 1-65 "scandentes qui *Asis* cernit de vallibus arces";—did you find Clitumnus near Assisi? How shocking when I ought to be thinking only of Saint Francis.)

Bishop's House, Kennington Park, S.E.
September 22, 1912.

. . . —— and —— have repaired and done up and added to —— Castle, and on the whole have done the job well;

they have between them amassed a wonderful collection of furniture and ornaments of all kinds—brass and pewter and china as well as all the typical old dressers and chests and tables and bedsteads. I am afraid these collections always give me rather the impression of a curiosity shop than the feeling of an old house that has been lived in and been a "home".

—— spent a Sunday with me in August on his way through to walk up the Cheviot: —— and ——, who used to be head of his house, turned up on bicycles at the beginning of the month: they were doing a tour through the Scott Country, and I suppose by this time —— has made himself complete master of the whole of the Lowlands. . . .

I have enjoyed almost most of all the uninterrupted spells of reading—and I have amongst other things been revelling once more in the Classics! There are two interesting little books on the Labour Movement which seem to me to be very clear and suggestive: I wonder if you have read them: Ramsay Macdonald on *Syndicalism* and Henderson *On the Labour Unrest*. Both books are rather in the nature of a defence of the Parliamentary Labour Party. It looks as if the real trouble of the Labour Movement is its uncertainty of aim: one section wants to put the workman in control of the means of production, and of the distribution of what he produces; the other aims at State Control of everything: one hates Parliament and suspects it as really representing only the Capitalist interest: the other works through legislation. I can't help thinking there must be soon a real split: and it would probably be much better that there should be. Meantime, what an extraordinary situation in Ireland! Supposing the Nationalists are baulked and the Unionists get in, what next? Are we to have retaliation upon Ulster with its own weapons and all the old chaos of violence and Coercion Acts? What do the Unionists propose to do? And lo and behold, in the middle of it all Winston Churchill springs upon us a vision of

Parliaments dotted about all over the British Isles. We *are* getting into a tangle! I wonder whether the Government will last out till Christmas. I can't help thinking they are finding themselves overloaded.

HÔTEL CONTINENTAL, ALGIERS.
January 19, 1913.

Your most welcome letter and New Year greetings reached me just as I was starting out here, to speed me on my voyage. The Bay was kind to us, but we had a bit of a tossing between Lisbon, where we put in for some four hours, and Cape St. Vincent. We couldn't have had a more perfect day for approaching and going through the Straits—a cloudless sky and a deep blue sea and the Spanish mountains capped with snow the whole day long on our left. . . . I hope we shall have our Report on the Civil Service out by the middle of March, unless any unforeseen cantankerousness turns up, and it will be a relief to get that out of the way of one's programme of work: I think we may get something useful done in the way of a more satisfactory grading, the abolition of Boy Clerks, and, what is really more vital than anything, the creation of a definite responsible body, whose business it is to see that things that exist in theory are made to work in practice. Looking over the whole of the evidence given, I am immensely struck by the keenness and loyalty which prevails throughout the service, and the real desire to get the work done—I am all against multiplying regulations and rules, and trying to run the Civil Service like a "business concern", and ventured on a little dissertation to show the fallacy of framing an analogy between it and "a large business House". We had a very jolly little gathering of "my" Home Civilians on New Year's Eve—about fifteen came to dinner, and we had most delightful talks. It was most refreshing to see how much those intelligent fellows

had come on in independence of judgment and in breadth of outlook, and still were just modest, unpretentious men without affectations.

What in the world are the Unionists after? Is it putting on all the pressure they can to bring about a General Election? I don't believe the Government have the smallest intention of going to the Country until after the Bill is through. They may come to grief over the Navy estimates, and will find the Labour Party a difficulty there. But *do* the Unionists expect to get in? Why should they? Because a number of the electorate are fidgeted by the Insurance Act—and don't care twopence about Home Rule! I think the real fact is that the Unionists are in a regular morass, and want a General Election to clear themselves.

I don't quite know whether Kikuyu is going to "fizzle out" or be a real crisis. I fancy from what other Missionary Bishops have told us there is a *strong* tendency on the part of native converts, as they become more intelligent, to rush or wish to rush schemes of Pan-Protestantism *or* Union with the Roman Missions in some form, and become impatient over the *via media*. There is also a considerable number of the young Tractarians who are obsessed with the idea of reunion with the Eastern and Western "Catholics" and want definitely to bring the thing to an issue; "Kikuyu" is only a match to fire the train. But just think how pitiful the spectacle is! Poor Bishop Weston, always a sensitive, impulsive creature, gets hipped out in Zanzibar—all alone—feeling the want of "co-operation"—never informs himself about the facts of Kikuyu—fires off his "open" letter and raises all sorts of other issues. Could anything be more ill-balanced? I do think it will end in the secession of a good number, but of course what the new Tractarians want is the shedding of the other side—Liberals and "Protestants". It is a curious moment to choose for the conflict, just after we have been demonstrating in Hyde Park and protesting

that the Church of England is the best guarantee for united effort in ministering to the spiritual needs of the English people! I can't make out *how* people come to do these things, and I'm quite certain I wasn't meant to be a Bishop.

BISHOP'S HOUSE, KENNINGTON PARK, S.E.
March 15, 1913.

. . It must be a real privilege to have known Wrench—as, alas! I never did—quite at his best. I *did* know him and appreciate him very much, but I expect he was only something of an echo of what he had been in the 'eighties and 'nineties. The thing that touched me most about him was his real tenderness of heart: infliction of pain, injustice, wrong, really wounded him (he was the typical instance of the opposite of the philosopher in Plutarch's *De Ira Cohibenda*, feeling his own pulse whilst the slave was being bastinadoed). . . .

I find the Royal Commission on the Civil Service on the top of the other things is beginning to take up a good deal of spare time—not so much attending the sittings as reading up the documents and evidence: I should like to devote myself to it exclusively and really try to readjust things. However, Lord Macdonell is excellent and devotes an enormous amount of thought and time to it. It is very interesting to see how the whole system has grown up in the usual kind of absent-minded way with the usual "pulling ourselves together" kind of fits: I think it is the way that suits us best. I don't believe very much in the idea which possesses some men of readjusting all our institutions straight off to fit in with "the democratic principle": we are so infernally self-conscious just now.

Have you read a *very* interesting book—a compilation of papers on different aspects of the Irish problem and the new Bill—by J. de H. Morgan? I have found a great deal of it *most* instructive, especially on the Land Question. I

don't much think *this* Bill is going to work; but on the other hand I doubt whether the Extremists on either side make an arrangement by mutual consent possible, and it is they who also make this new Bill unworkable. No one seems quite to know what is going to happen: many of my Liberal friends are very uncomfortable, but on the other hand the opposition is *deplorable*, and there is no alternative —I think if there had been a united and firm opposition with some really constructive ideas, the Government would have been in difficulties. . . .

We all go up to Hepple on April 2—oh! joy. I do pine for the hills and some idleness. I think I ought to read a lot more of the latest poetry: can you recommend me a course? I have read and been much impressed by two powerful poems of John Masefield's—*τὸ μιαρόν* rather predominant, and forced, but some beautiful things. However, I always return to Browning and have been working up *Paracelsus*: it is a wonderful exposition of a creed of life. Still, I expect I ought to know what new poets are saying and thinking about.

Bishop's House, Kennington Park, S.E.
June 5, 1913.

I know I am quite unconscionable—*improbissimus*—anything you can call me in Latin, Greek, or English. I read your "extract"[1] first on Whit Sunday, and ever since then I have been meaning to write. . . . I don't think you can improve upon it. Of course I am presuming that the context is an account of "Winchester College", Buildings and School Life, and you are appreciating the significance of Ridding in the history of the place. I don't know whether it is worth while noting the fact, but it always seemed to me a wonderful opportunity was provided by the moment

[1] Evidently a draft of the estimate of Ridding's headmastership, which appears, with a quotation from this letter, in A. K. Cook's *About Winchester College*.

of transition from the old Warden and Fellows to the new Governing Body: anyhow R. made wonderful use of it. Whether he could have carried out all that he did in such a short time under the old regime I can't ever make up my mind. "The wise man", says Bacon, "makes more opportunities than he finds"—and I think that is true of Ridding's creative genius.

There is one other characteristic of his work and ways which always impresses me more and more. (Perhaps I am mistaken—at any rate I don't know that it comes out in your account.) His penetrating insight of what was *essential* in a great tradition and his sublime disregard of what was only accidental and non-essential. You can't imagine R. a Pharisee: you say "No, of course not": he was so frightfully real. And yet how easy and natural in the life of Winchester to attach as much importance and pay as much homage to the minutiae of Wiccamical custom as to the great fundamental and simple and unwritten rules of life which have made its *ἦθος*. The unimaginative man had better stick to the minutiae; he can't differentiate, but Ridding could and did. The unimaginative man probably says R. was deficient in historic sense. I believe he saw more clearly than most what really made the personality of Winchester, and what was the real secret of her continuity.

But how impertinent of me to wander on like this to you! Now I'm all agog to read the whole of your book. . . . On Saturday week I am "summoned" to Windsor to spend the week-end at the Castle! Not much in my line, but I shall be interested to know whom I shall meet there. What to preach to them on the Sunday I can't think—a private Chapel and a group of the rank and fashion! I am now enjoying Trevelyan's *Life of John Bright*; it seems to me to be written with real sympathy and insight and the analysis of the condition of England in 1840 very clear. Why aren't we all Quakers? Is it because so very few people really can be Christians?

HEPPLE, ROTHBURY.
August 30, 1913.

. . . I should be very glad of your counsel upon the suggestion made to me in a letter I found here from Archie Don: he says "Various old Wykehamists are giving single lights (of the Chapel windows) in memory of their time at Winchester, and it is hoped to replace all but the Jesse window in this way. It is proposed that all your Wykehamists should give one window (six lights) in memory of your headmastership. At one time it was suggested that a portrait of you should be painted, but . . . it was felt that you would have yourself preferred to see £500 spent otherwise".

. . . It would be extraordinarily ungracious of me to say or do anything which would throw cold water upon the suggestion—and it comes to me as a great surprise, and does move me *very* much. At the same time there are two things which weigh with me a good deal: *first*, honestly I do not think that my headmastership calls for any memorial; it cannot, I think, be said to be in any real sense "historic", so as to deserve permanent and visible record of that kind: *secondly*, I feel that the problem of the windows is being rather rushed: are we really *restoring* the old windows? . . . Is the glass craft of our own time so excellent that it can justly claim to reproduce the glass of the fourteenth century? I may be fanciful in putting such questions; and if you will set me right and tell me quite candidly what you think I shall be most grateful.

We have had a most enjoyable and quiet holiday; of course the weather has been wonderful for our purpose of being out of doors all day: it has been a rare delight to be able to sit out of doors and enjoy spells of uninterrupted reading. We have had our usual picnic expeditions, varied this year by obeying Stephen's instructions in the gentle art of moth and butterfly collecting; he has imparted to me much of the lore of the moth world!

October 18, 1913.

. . . What an awful blunder the House of Lords made in not reading the Home Rule Bill this summer a second time, and then having or inviting a Conference at the Committee Stage! That surely was the right, if not the only moment, when a Conference was feasible. The worst of it is one can't find out who the leaders are that so confer.

LITTLEHAMPTON.
April 16, 1914.

. . . I came here feeling rather played out, but basking and some walks have quite picked me up. . . .

We *have* had a hurly-burly time of it in politics, and there's more to come. I go to lunch from time to time at 10 Downing Street in the intervals of the work on the Commission and come into some direct contact with the excitement. The great difficulty all along, so it has seemed to me, is that the Unionists are so badly led and have nothing constructive to suggest: they are really like Anarchists, looking out only for opportunities of damaging their opponents, then making a bungle of their chances and then getting very angry because they find themselves baffled. I believe if the Government had had only Carson to deal with, the prospect would have been clearer by this time. There has been a certain amount of blundering all round, and I fancy the Prime Minister would have been more comfortable without the assistance (?) of some of his colleagues: but of course he is much too loyal a person ever to hint such a thing. I think probably we shall find the Bill on the Statute Book in June on the understanding that there is to be a dissolution in July: and then afterwards the moderates on both sides must get to work to devise some sort of scheme of Federalism. It is rather disappointing to read in the life of "Labby" that in 1886 most of

them had come to the conclusion that the only way of getting over the Ulster difficulty was a scheme of Federation, and many urging that the leaders ought to sit down together and work out such a scheme: nearly thirty years ago, and we saying the same thing! The purely negative attitude of the Unionists all these years has been such a waste—except for the disastrous venture in Tariff Reform, and for poor George Wyndham's Irish policy, for which he had to go! We are going to have a very unhappy time *in rebus ecclesiasticis*. The Neo-Tractarians (who have gained a wonderful ascendancy) are burning to make a great declaration in Convocation against Liberal Theology and Reformation doctrines—they detest the idea of a "comprehensive" Church. I want to know when exactly this "Unity" of the Church which they seem to want to recur existed: I don't find it in Dante's *De Monarchia*, or Cyprian, or in the Acts of the Apostles. I expect it is rather like the "Golden Age" of the pagans: and we are approaching the idea of Unity entirely at the wrong end.

Switzerland in June! How perfectly lovely!

From Cley-next-the-Sea.
August 21, 1914.

What an age it seems since I got your letter written from Switzerland in the peace and quiet of the Continent, where you were fraternising with Germans and thinking like the rest of us that nothing was more inconceivable than a return to the days of the Napoleonic Wars, still less of the Dark Ages.

On Bank Holiday we started for our holiday here, and few of us will forget Bank Holiday 1914 and Grey's speech in the House! I have been backwards and forwards to London, snatching some really beautiful days in this quiet little seaside place, and doing all we can in the way of excellent sea-bathing and sailing. I did not stay on in

London, because there is not really much that one can do just at the moment, and I wanted to get freshened up before the stress of work comes in the difficult times before us in the Autumn and Winter. At the present time I have been trying to provide means (in co-operation with Bray of the Labour Exchange) to get our juveniles who are thrown out of work from the factories occupied during the day time, when they are hanging about looking for jobs. The idea is to make our Boys' and Girls' Clubs Labour Exchange *centres* for information about employment, to have them open for recreation, drills, classes, etc., during the day, and so to keep them off the streets. I *think* we shall be able to get the workers for the purpose—which is the difficulty. The way that our people have been adjusting themselves to the new situation is quite extraordinary; but I don't fancy anybody knows yet what the unravelling of the financial tangle is to be or to cost. And how long is it going to last? We were told such a war was impossible, because the financiers wouldn't allow it: indeed, I am told on good authority that in the first few days we were on the verge of witnessing the most awful financial crash: everybody whom I have seen, who is in the know, is full of admiration of the cool-headedness of Lloyd George, the Bank of England, and the leading financiers.

So now we are told it *can't* last long. But who is going to give in, except at the last gasp? One hasn't the faintest idea what is going on in Germany, and the only hope is that the German people—or, say, the South German states—won't stand it. But there, I believe it's only that the wish is father to the thought.

Did you ever read such an amazing correspondence as "the White Paper?" I can't really bring myself to believe that the German Emperor and his advisers have been *deliberately* working up to this, and that the murder of the Archduke was all part of the conspiracy! But certainly that is one reading of the story which the White Paper unfolds. . . .

February 20, 1915.

. . . We had a few days' holiday in January, but it was not very successful for me, except in eliciting a lot of latent gout! I enjoyed a week in Devonshire very much, and then succumbed in Norfolk. However, I am all right again now. Perhaps it was Volume III. of Dizzy that had something to do with it. There are some interesting things in it, which have not come out before, especially in the light it throws upon Lord Derby during the reconstruction of the Tory Party. I am struck by Dizzy's self-control: it must have been maddening to see the opportunity for which he prayed and laboured not taken. I had a feeling all the time in reading the history of those years in this volume, how much the problem resolved itself to a question of ins and outs for the politicians and how detached *they* all seemed to be from the life of the man in the street. I thought Buckle might have left out some things (*e.g.* the paltry dispute about taking over the furniture in Downing Street!), but he seemed to me to get more into his stride as he went on. I had an interesting little chat with him about it, when I met him the other day in the Athenæum. He is thoroughly enjoying it. Meantime, I am making a study of Russia—Russian history and Dostoieffsky's novels. I wish they all didn't seem to have such appalling names: I can't think why they all want to appropriate all the letters of the alphabet for every name.

I am afraid there are very violent and anxious times in store for us before many weeks are over in the theatre of war. But I find military people in high command are wonderfully cheerful and happy about the way things have gone. . . .

Bicknoller, nr. Taunton.
August 25, 1915.

I thought I should have a line from you before long! Just because I so ill deserved it. I have been pegging away at

"Visitation Returns": if you don't know what holding a Visitation of a Diocese means, all I say is "*don't*". At the present time a lifelong discipline that has become an instinct prompts me to draw up a Class List from the answers given to my questions addressed to my 316 incumbents: a few in the first class—a larger number hopelessly ploughed. But what to do with the ploughee is just the root question! Counsel is useless, because he is just the man who always thinks he knows better than anyone.

All the same I rejoice to tramp these hills and coombes and to feel brown and well. We have permission from Lord St. Audries close by to bathe from the point to which his Park stretches—three miles from here—and we have had some jolly expeditions there. But all the time, of course, haunted by the war and the rumours of war, and the heart-ache for parents—so many of them now—whose boys we tried to make men of—and all for this. And that is just *the* greatest anxiety of all—whether "*this*" will prove to have been worth it: shall we achieve all that we must achieve to make it worth it? However, the worst thing of all is to lose heart or to grow weary of it, because that is just the one thing the Germans count upon. I didn't know "the Yellow Book" of Browning's *Ring* had been published and edited. I must certainly get it. I envy you your re-reading of the Poem: I shall hope for the day when I can feel *vacuus* enough; one must be disengaged for the purpose. Meantime, I spend some of my leisure moments on Virgil's *Georgics*. I am rather tempted to hunt up files of *Country Life* and see what light articles and letters throw upon things Virgil says: I can't help thinking he got much more from personal observation than from Aratus and all the rest of them. . . .

Bishop's House, Kennington Park, S.E.
December 23, 1915.

. . . I showed what you said in your letter about dear old Du Boulay to Grey, and he very much appreciated

it and quite endorsed all your tribute to Du Boulay's work. . . .

On the first Monday of the New Year we go up to the little holiday home we have had offered to us, three miles from Hepple. A charming little house—named "Blue Mill"—it used to be a small farm with a mill worked by a little burn that comes tumbling over the rocks. We are much delighted by the prospect of finding ourselves in that jolly bit of country.

I have had a hard drive of it during this Autumn: a "Visitation" of the Diocese. . . .

We have had a very interesting experience in Lambeth: a number of workers of experience of all kinds of creeds and interests (Roman Catholics and all) have been putting their heads together to go into the *facts* connected with the Drink Question in this area. I got them together, and we are producing a Report: I'll send you a copy. We have tried to offer some suggestions of a constructive kind. I don't think the war has *created* much in the way of new phenomena of social life, but it emphasises for good or evil facts about it which in other times are ignored or covered up. . . .

Bishop's House, Kennington Park, S.E.
April 21, 1916.

. . . What a whirl of excitement and agitation the newspapers keep up in trying to break up the Coalition! I can't imagine what alternative is proposed, or what reason there is for supposing that the alternative is going to do better. And I sometimes wonder whether perhaps all these devices for keeping our nerves on the rack and producing reactions from excitement and expectation to depression and disappointment are not all German-made! Certainly London has been a most depressing place to live in this winter. I have had some refreshing walks with Headlam (A. C.): he is selling his collection of Greek coins, which are

arranged on a new and very interesting plan, and are really quite worth while examining. And I am getting together material I have collected for some time past on the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris. Headlam is anxious I should put out something on the subject. But I always rather feel that, like his collection of coins, when one has had the pleasure of collecting the material, then one had better not tempt providence further and spoil it! I wonder where A. is and what he is doing? I do feel very much for the soldiers and particularly those who have intelligence. It is the stupidest kind of warfare I ever read of.

Bishop's House, Kennington Park, S.E.
October 11, 1916.

. . . When we got up to Northumberland I found myself committed to haymaking to help a neighbouring farmer who was short-handed: we were a mixed lot; we four, the hind's newly married wife, a lad of fourteen during the Village School holiday, and one man! But we had four of the most gorgeous days of summer weather and got up all his twelve acres of field without a hitch. Then I gradually became involved in sheets of correspondence first about the National Mission and then about National Education, and found myself on a three days' visit to Cloan to jaw till the small hours of the morning about Education. Of course, as everybody knows, the "problem" of our national life is the years between fourteen and eighteen. That's where the waste comes. But there is always a fundamental difficulty about handling great "schemes" in England, namely, the difficulty first of getting at the facts, and then of knowing exactly what the principles are upon which you are going to set to work. I have been keen to get this Central Council Advisory, or whatever you like to call it, because you can then have a body which can make it their business to overcome or help us to overcome the fundamental difficulty.

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Their first report explaining what they are and what their objective is quite an interesting document. I think it will very likely be that we shall discover that our best way in England is to preserve all kinds of different types and modes of training, but it will be important to get each type as good as possible, and for English people to *know* what different types and modes there are. I do believe there is going to be more real interest shown in the subject (at any rate in "the House") than we have seen hitherto, and the subject will mean, I earnestly trust, something more than an irreligious squabble over religious education. . . .

I find my studies of Sidonius Apollinaris are expanding into researches into the "culture" of Gallic Society in the fourth and fifth centuries, and I am getting into all sorts of queer places. It is most interesting to see how "the three Gauls" became more and more identified with the Empire and thought themselves Roman, without vitally modifying the character of their own national institutions and ἦθος except that Lyons the capital was and always remained distinct as the one Roman burgess town. It all reads like a very modern world. I am not at all surprised at the French being proud of their history. . . . I *do* feel for poor New College—all the spring of their Senior Common Room destroyed . . . it is piteous. I can't imagine anything more intolerable than the life of an old don up in Oxford through these months.

Blue Mill, Rothbury, Northumberland.
January 23, 1917.

I am just on the eve of returning to London to-morrow after a little three weeks' spell up here. We have had deep snow nearly all the time: some gloriously bright sunny days, which provided us with tobogganing and made my poor old bones ache: a good many days with sky overcast, when it seemed good to fell trees and saw wood. Anyhow, I have been out in the open air most of the daylight, and

it *is* refreshing to know when you come in that you haven't got to turn out at 7.30 P.M. to creep about dark streets in search of churches and parochial halls.

Let me know if there is any chance of a walk and a talk. We seem to have opened not a new chapter but an entirely new volume in politics since last we met. Asquith appears by all accounts to be as out of date as Gladstone and Bright! Will it last? I have a sort of glimmering remembrance that "fancy Ministries" have not held together in this country very long, for they generally are composed of a number of forcible people who are quite unable to work with anybody else. However, this is an *ad hoc* business, and I only hope they will see it through. I can't imagine Germany being really in such straits that the military party are on the verge of being compelled to offer the security and reparation we demand: that is to admit that the policy of fifty years has been a ghastly failure. I *do* believe they rely very much upon our not being able to deal effectively with the submarine menace. But somehow one gives up reasoning or speculating in despair, and there seems nothing for it but to set one's teeth and "wish for the day". I have been reading again Courthope's *History of English Poetry* (Volume I.), and the *Agamemnon*. I do think Courthope has done that early period very well—he keeps the threads clear and yet manages to weave it all into a pattern; and his chapter on the close of the Roman Empire appeals to me very forcibly.

BLUE MILL, ROTHBURY, NORTHUMBERLAND.
September 4, 1917.

I could not write last week, when your most welcome letter came, for I had to pack off to London for a few days on a big business connected with munition workers at Woolwich. London was very stuffy and mosquito-ish after this! Like everybody else, we had desperate weather

last month: I never knew so many thunderstorms up in these parts, but we had very few days, if any, on which it was not possible to get out a bit: I spent a good deal of time cutting thistles for a neighbouring farmer, who is short-handed—a form of unskilled labour just suited to my capacity! Stephen came up here after three weeks potato-ing on the top of Dartmoor: he seems to have enjoyed it all very much, and I think the Camp life was very well arranged and managed; in his off times he got some fishing, and seems to have appreciated thoroughly the opportunity of making friends with fellows in other houses. We shall be here until the 24th, and are looking forward to a gorgeous September: we have started well. How we always revert to Plato and George Meredith! Here was I too last month reading the *Phaedrus* and *The Egoist*! I had not dipped into *The Egoist* for ages, and I don't think I ever enjoyed it more: it really is amazing. I don't think I ever quite realised before the consummate art with which Vernon Whitford's character sets off the egoism of W. P. I have also been reading again the second volume of Courthope's *History of English Poetry*—on the sixteenth century. He is very good on the transition in European thought from Mediaevalism to the Modern World and I like his analysis of Marlowe particularly.

I am eagerly looking forward to getting your book on Winchester; I don't care what it costs! it will be worth it.

. . . What *is* to happen to Russia? And if she collapses and makes a separate peace at Germany's dictation, what of the rest? A man writes to me urging that now is the moment for making peace, because it would reveal their "*disappointment*" to the German people and that would be far more effective than taking away territory or crippling Germany.

But the German people are firmly convinced that they are the victims of a conspiracy organised by England with the object of crushing Germany's expansion and greatness.

To make peace now would show them that the conspiracy had hopelessly failed. So I don't see where the disappointment comes in. It seems to me it would only encourage them all the more to support the policy of a strong Central European military system worked by Prussia.

Meantime Germany would use the interval of negotiations more effectively than the Allies would.

June 7, 1917.

. . . There are heaps of things I want to talk about: I have had some very interesting talks with Hodge about industrial reconstruction and social problems. There is an interesting book by Burnet of St. Andrews, called *Higher Education and the War*. . . .

Bishop's House, Kennington Park, S.E.
July 9, 1917.

. . . [As to the Winchester War Memorial] all I want is to have united action: one heart and mind expressing itself. Far the greater number are *my own* Wykehamists and nothing that anyone can put up to commemorate them could express what I feel about them or what I owe to them. . . .

Bishop's House, Kennington Park, S.E.
May 23, 1918.

I am *very* glad to have your letter because now I *must* stop and have a little chat with you and let everything else go hang. I have been wanting to do this for two or three months and hadn't the good sense to indulge myself. It has been and is still a dreadfully crowded time and all this business of offers of service from the clergy and underpinning the whole Diocese when all the good men

have been removed absorbs every atom of spare time. Moreover I have had to steer a Bill, dealing with a useless Church in Southwark, through the House of Lords, past the shoals of the London County Council and the snags and rocks of all sorts of faddists. I find attendance at the H. of L. and listening to debates and hearing something at first hand from people like Bryce and Curzon and so on, very refreshing: it is quite a recreation.

I meant to have told you the next time we had a chat that Lloyd George offered me the Deanery of Durham with a view to giving me a bit of a respite. Sir T. Barlow doesn't think I ought to be subjected to the strain of this South London work too long. . . .

——'s time as a prefect at Winchester was wonderfully fruitful and formative and brought him out in ways which I scarcely would have believed possible for a boy who seemed to be so diffident and dependent upon others.

Bishop's House, Kennington Park, S.E.
November 29, 1917.

. . . Don't you think Irishmen (unless they have minds of the mould of S. H. Butcher) are more deficient in the sense of proportion than most humans.

I have nearly finished Morley (India and all). I am greatly pleased too with his *Meredith*—though surprised he couldn't get on with *The Egoist* at some period when he took it up again—but also with his appreciation of M. Arnold, not only poet but thinker and interpreter. I was reading *Mixed Essays* and *Culture and Anarchy* again last holidays and was immensely struck by his clear vision and penetration. I don't think we have anyone on the same plane at all in these times—I am sorry to find a feeling creeping over me as I go on with *The Recollections* that there is a sort of self-satisfied air about the whole thing—but I *don't* want to admit this. Was or is there any "home

life" at all? Also where exactly is it that Liberalism has failed to forecast and provide for the future or against the tremendous reactions of the last twenty years? Is it too easily content with politics as being an affair of "second bests?" Or is Liberalism really only a name for certain phases of change?

I am greatly puzzled about it. I thought J. M.'s declaration of Liberalism at the beginning of Vol. I. quite convincing and triumphant when I found him at work in politics. I felt less confidence in Liberal *statesmanship* as being of a very high order.

The account of Lucretius is interesting—isn't it?

BLUE MILL, ROTHBURY, NORTHUMBERLAND.
August 16, 1918.

. . . I remember his discoursing to me at great length even when I was there on the subject of [the school's] size: it was too small in numbers: there were not nearly enough Wykehamists about: you met Etonians everywhere in the Houses of Parliament, in leading positions in the Public Service; you only came across Wykehamists here and there. To me such a point of view is deplorable and at the same time based upon a fallacy.

. . . How cheering the news has been, chiefly by way of contrast to what one was dreading! I wonder whether the failure of the German plans for this year will have any real moral effect: it is so difficult to know what the German people are really doing and thinking. We have been reading out loud in the evenings (for Hester's benefit chiefly) *Garibaldi's Defence of Rome* (Trevelyan) and it really is a first-rate book for the purpose, and makes one long to be out in Italy again. It is also very illuminating on the attitude of the Vatican towards the Italian nation, and I presume what was true then is true now. . . .

BLUE MILL, ROTHBURY, NORTHUMBERLAND.
December 11, 1918.

. . . [About a certain large scheme] I am always rather sceptical when I am told, as —— declared to me, that "we are thinking not of the moment but *in centuries*". People who really think in centuries don't realise that they are doing so: at any rate they don't talk about it. . . .

I am thoroughly enjoying the countryside: the bracken and heather make a most wonderful picture of browns and reds of every shade.

Your brother's book[1] is most entertaining and full of the most interesting facts and reflections. It shows one the life and work of a journalist at its very best and that best is very good; and it also proves that it needs a good Oxford Greats man to be a good journalist. But what amazing industry lies at the back of it all! And what a wonderful education editing Ruskin has given him! I enjoyed Zimmern's Essays too very much. I heard him lecture the other day on the idea of a League of Nations and he summed up then a good deal of what he writes about Nationalism and Internationalism. I am glad he emphasises a point which I have always thought wanted bringing out. That the purpose of the League is not simply or in the first instance to prevent war but τὸ εὖ ζῆν. The schemes for preventing war are as old as Hugo Grotius and Alberico Gentili and they break down at the crucial point, when some power is immoral enough to say "Your scheme be damned"! or because nations limit their motives simply to securing their own position. . . .

This Election is a tiresome business—I do hope in the end we shall get a strong House of Commons, which will be really backed by the country. I believe the one great danger is the spread of the idea that Parliament is no good and that people may take the law into their own hands. I

[1] Sir E. T. Cook's reminiscences.

wish Asquith would put that more plainly and forcibly. The electioneering speeches give me the *impression* of treating the whole business as if it were a matter of party managers haggling over candidates. . . .

BLUE MILL, ROTHBURY, NORTHUMBERLAND.
January 23, 1919.

. . . We read together *Garibaldi and the Thousand*: . . . I found it wears very well and can be read through with renewed interest; the Neapolitan command was indeed amazingly incompetent, and Garibaldi seems to have counted on its never being anything else! I have just finished the *Paradiso* and achieved my aim of reading through the *Commedia* in the three holidays of the year. It has been such a delight and better than anything I know helps one to appreciate the meaning of the Eve of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Besides this, I am at three interesting little books by my friend Cole (Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers—a Scholar of Balliol and Fellow of Magdalen) on the present position of Trade Unionism, the payment of wages, and Labour in the Commonwealth. They are issued by the research department of the Fabian Society. I *hope* the Labour Movement is going to stick to Parliament and Parliamentary methods: but I am rather nervous about it. There seems to be a strong current of feeling that Parliament is a matter of electioneering dodges and party manœuvres and is out of touch with the movements going on in society, and I am afraid this last Election won't mend matters. I have never been able to understand how you can establish any analogy between a Coalition formed to deal with a great emergency and a national peril, when measures of an emergency kind have to be taken and are temporary, and a coalition that proposes to make laws which are to be

permanent, and go right down to fundamental principles. I can't imagine how it is to be kept together.

I was much interested by your account of ——: I should like to see him again. Such a flabby, self-indulgent little boy apparently, and now I suppose as tough and courageous as a hero! The same thing comes out in letters I get from Wykehamists, who seemed dull and unintelligent and never got out of Middle Part, and now are as alive and have just as good a grip of things as anyone. I always say that the only thing I did at Winchester was to try to persuade "thicks" in Middle Part that at twenty-five they would be doing just as good work for their country as anyone else. But how I should have shuddered if I had known what I was saying. . . .

Bishop's House, Kennington Park, S.E.11.
March 18, 1919.

. . . These are anxious days all round. It is the suspicion and knowledge of a great deal of corruption and dishonest money-making out of the war that produces such strong feelings and the determination to bring things to a head. . . . My political friends tell me that the blockade is kept up simply to preserve a monopoly for a ring of traders?

Bishop's House, Kennington Park, S.E.11.
June 27, 1919.

. . . It[1] was an immense surprise to me: I had thought I could hold on here for a year or two, and then when I really couldn't do all the night work any more, I should disappear from "active service". It seemed to be poor-spirited to decline this challenge to open up quite a new chapter of work, and the doctors as well as the Archbishop wouldn't hear of my refusing. So I hope it is all for the best. I do

[1] His translation to Oxford.

believe I shall tempt you to come to me at Cuddesdon and go for a walk over Shotover—*that's* a treat to look forward to. . . . It is rather tantalising to leave this part of the world just at the beginning of this extraordinary, if very anxious time. Still it has all been a wonderfully interesting and fruitful experience, and I am thankful for it, and I shall be able to keep in touch with friends with whom I have worked here. . . .

BLUE MILL, ROTHBURY, NORTHUMBERLAND.
September 7, 1919.

Cruickshank was most good to us [at Durham]. Of course he knows accurately the whole history of those magnificent buildings. I don't know any which give such an impression of the "grand style" of the Normans—not devotional like the early English—but there is such an evident purpose of doing the thing splendidly. Is it conceivable that Bishops really had that Castle for their ordinary residence? as well as Auckland for their country home—*and* a house in London! . . .

I wish Winchester could get a Dean who would now throw himself with knowledge and enthusiasm into the civic life. . . .

I am reading Mazzini again: *Europe—its Condition and Prospects*, written in 1852: high hopes of a new and a better world! But he points out the real danger of democracy working out its destiny on purely materialistic lines, and says the poison of the individualistic creed is that it produces absolutism and the doctrine of Might is Right. It is extremely interesting. I wonder how and when things will begin to settle down. I am afraid we are in for a very trying and uncomfortable winter. I rather wish the Labour party would come into power and have the responsibility of governing through the Parliament: the question is—would Clynes and Barnes and the constitutionally minded men be able to hold their own? . . .

BLUE MILL, ROTHBURY, NORTHUMBERLAND.
October 2, 1919.

. . . I am deeply distressed to see in the paper that you have lost your brother Edward,[1] and I do appreciate very much how much you will feel it. I know that all through your lives you have shared as real brothers the gifts and interests and joys and trials which life has brought, and you will miss him at every turn. You know how greatly I valued his friendship: I always felt that he was a man of the deepest sincerity both in mind and heart—never content with the mere surface of things but always taking infinite pains to get below the surface and find the deep things which lie there. To such a nature life must be truly satisfying—the *plenus vitae conviva*; he got more good and more meaning out of it than most men.

What an amazingly industrious life it was! I don't believe he ever "wasted" a moment of it. And when I last saw him and chatted with him at the Athenæum this summer I could not help noticing with great anxiety how heavily his labours during the war had taxed his strength. He helped and enlightened and cheered us all and we are truly thankful to have known him and prized his friendship. . . .

CUDDESDON, WHEATLEY, OXON.
December 23, 1919.

. . . It *has* been a crowded time and I have had to fix my mind upon the business in hand: still, it has been a happy time and I am wonderfully well and the conditions under which the work is done are so entirely different and do not involve anything like the same strain. I am glad you are going to let us have the Browning now very soon: I know I shall greatly enjoy reading it: I fully expect it will make a landmark in Browning interpretation. I

[1] Sir Edward T. Cook.

wonder what you will turn to next? . . . It has been a great treat to me to get times now and again in Oxford and to be in touch with old friends: I was dining in Queen's the other day, preparatory to a meeting in their College Hall, and we all found ourselves talking just where we left off twenty years ago—Walker and Allen and Grenfell: the worst of it is one doesn't feel a bit wiser, even if it's a comfort not to feel any older. . . . It is very strange to find oneself at times in a great gathering of young men, going about things in a natural matter-of-fact way and then to picture what they have gone through and the hell of devastation they were living in a few months ago. A jolly party of seventeen Wykehamists came out one Sunday afternoon to see me here—the only Sunday I was at home: we had a perfectly delightful time together. . . .

CUDDESDON, WHEATLEY, OXON.
August 31, 1920.

. . . I thought we wasted a good deal of time at the Conference,[1] and we sat too long, 10.30 to 7 on many days, and the last two hours made people jaded and produced a good deal of woolliness of thought and speech. But on the whole I was agreeably surprised with the way in which we managed to "get together" and to be bent on definite and positive statements. The amount of interest which the Report has excited is certainly remarkable, and I should think a very great contrast to anything that followed from previous Conferences. . . .

I got rather bored by the two volumes of Dizzy: surely it is too elaborate and diffuse. I should have thought it could all have been put into one volume. Moreover, I got rather tired of the unrelieved eulogy: when all is said and done, Dizzy leaves in my mouth a most unpleasant taste: he was a genius in playing his game, but it has been

[1] The Lambeth Conference.

pessimi exempli, and has degraded Parliament as lesser men have carried on his methods. His correspondence with Queen Victoria becomes simply nauseous! . . . I am going to take *The Ring and the Book* and you[1] with me for my voyage and nothing else. . . .

CUDDESDON, WHEATLEY, OXON.
January 12, 1921.

. . . I have been very busy attending various Conferences and gatherings—amongst others I was asked by the Council of the Free Churches to conduct and address the devotional meeting they held as a preliminary to considering their answer to the Lambeth Appeal. I greatly enjoyed the time I spent with them; but my impression is that the Free Church leaders are very much divided among themselves and it will be extremely difficult for them to speak with one voice. . . .

The question we debate is, shall it be Venice, Verona, Padua, Ravenna, or Assisi, Siena, Florence? I rather think the latter will prevail; and we can try Venice some day later still, in the Autumn, when the hills and plains of Lombardy are purple with the vintage.

I haven't seen anything much of politicians lately, and it is exceedingly difficult to know what to make of the situation: I take in regularly the *Écho de Paris*—Pertinax is extraordinarily interesting, and has evidently a real insight of English politics—but evidently the French are *wholly* obsessed with the dishonesty of Germany in carrying out the Treaty and the vital necessity of disarming her as the very first essential: and then a continual nervousness lest we should begin to get on terms with the Germans. Meantime, what of the Bolshevists' intentions about a renewed and overwhelming attack on Poland? Some of the War Office people think it is certain that Germany

[1] A. K. Cook's *Commentary on the Ring and the Book*.

would encourage this—plead the necessity of a big Army in order to stand between the Red Army and the rest of Europe—destroy the Red Army and Bolshevism and then take Russia in hand themselves. All this theorising is to me rather unconvincing and too much "on paper". I don't think we know nearly enough about the state of things in Germany and especially in Berlin. Have you read Hume Brown's *Life of Goethe*? It really is a *very* scholarly bit of work, and throws a great deal of light upon G.'s mind. It was the work and study of a lifetime with Hume Brown, and he was one of the most delightful of men—so entirely sincere and thoughtful. In my spare odd moments I've been reading Wilamovitz' edition of *Aeschylus*: it is quite first rate: his treatment of the text is most illuminating, and such a refreshing contrast to all the people who have been trying to correct *Aeschylus* as if it were a Medal task. Well—now I must go back and wallow in the mire. Anyhow, I've spent a delightful twenty minutes. . . .

CUDDESDON, WHEATLEY, OXON.
May 4, 1921.

. . . Geneva was most interesting: the purpose of the Conference was to co-ordinate famine relief agencies and for *me* to report to the Archbishop what sort of appeal we ought to make in England. What I actually urged in Convocation was that the economic situation in itself was not so desperate, but it is made desperate by the vindictiveness and selfishness of the States in Eastern Europe, *e.g.* Vienna, once the capital of an Empire of seventy millions, itself a city of three millions, consisting largely of officials, artists, and the population that ministers to amusement, now is the capital of a strip of country containing five millions: round the country a hard barrier through which Czecho-Slovaks, Serbians, and the rest will allow nothing to pass: the country man equally spiteful towards the town man:

Hungary, Rumania, Serbia, Poland, all mobilising their resources to make war at the first opportunity—no sign of any of the temper which makes for the reconstruction of normal life. Some day I'll let you see the full report I made to the Archbishop if you care to see it. At the close of it all I had a long and interesting talk with four German clergy, who asked to be allowed to consult me about the morale of their students at the Universities: they were in despair about them and the future of their country: nothing, they believed, could save the coming generation except a real religious revival. They said that their leaders like Harnack & Co., who drew up the pitiable manifesto at the beginning of the war, now deplored having been utterly deluded! It is very remarkable how at an international Conference when you all give your minds to the same problem, you entirely forget nationality! I was put in charge of a small Commission, to inquire into the condition of the Baltic States, and things that might be done to help the restoration of the country. I interviewed several people who have been at work out there; and the sufferings those people have endured and are enduring are beyond all belief; *e.g.* there are at this moment seven thousand women, *mostly* ladies—widows of men in good position—living from hand to mouth, absolutely destitute, with no prospect, in Pomerania. . . .

CUDDESDON, WHEATLEY, OXON.
July 20, 1921.

. . . I've been longing to sit down and chat with you—about Italy—ten days in Florence—five in Siena—and five at Assisi, with a couple of nights in Perugia. I think some day I must spend the whole of May at Assisi. It *is* a perfectly delicious spot. (Have you read Paget Toynbee's edition of Dante's letters; it is quite excellent and really illuminates the political history: I wish he would do Machiavelli's letters now to round it off). . . .

CUDDESDON, WHEATLEY, OXON.
August 18, 1921.

. . . What does De Valera mean? Is it only part of the "business" of the piece to conciliate the extreme wing who no doubt have resented his coming over to England at all to negotiate with Lloyd George? Or is it the blindness and short-sightedness of fanatics? I know (because I had a good deal of correspondence with Horace Plunkett earlier in the year) that the thoughtful and moderate Sinn Feiners were quite prepared to accept the Dominion Status: the only difference being that we suggested to Ll. G. they should use his Act for the purpose of holding a meeting of representatives from the constituencies to decide upon Dominion Status for themselves. *These* Sinn Feiners were supposed to be the dominant element. . . .

CUDDESDON, WHEATLEY, OXON.
November 27, 1921.

. . . It was most refreshing to have your chat: I greatly enjoyed it, particularly as I have been driven off my legs: I get horribly entangled in Committees in London, and it seems impossible to get out of them: and when one is put in charge of them the business involved in the intervals is most exacting. The Archbishop insisted I must be Chairman of the Committee appointed by the Lambeth Conference on a Ministry of Healing in the Church: it is a *most* difficult subject, treated cavalierly by a number of people upon quite unexamined assumptions, and in complete confusion of thought. My Committee consist of some very interesting doctors, like Clifford Allbutt, Dr. Rivers, Armstrong Jones, as well as the theologians. I don't know quite how we are going to get the different parties even on to common ground for the purpose of discussion. It is a curious thing that the Medicine Man, who was essentially Priestly, of the tribal life, should be reappearing "at the end of the ages" as the

Priest who claims to be the Medicine Man. Then I'm pegging away at the leaders of Temperance reform, and trying to get them to be reasonable and discover some line on which they can agree to go forward. However, I'm not going to worry you with my list of engagements. My chief diversion has been *Theodore Roosevelt's Life* by Bishop: rather fulsome in style, but it gives a most vivid insight of American public life. He was a truly sincere patriot and his cleansing for a time of a great tract of municipal and State politics was truly remarkable, but it's pathetic to think that as soon as he disappears it all goes back again. I don't feel disposed to trust American politicians one bit. I *wonder* whether anything satisfactory will come out of the Washington Conference: I have a feeling that those who doubt the wisdom of any real disarmament will prevail: it is very hard to meet the argument that after such a war you are exhausted, many of you are emotional and carried away by visionary ideas which are all unreal; and under the influence of unstable emotions you are going to take a step, which will only have to be retraced later on with great difficulty and immense cost. On the other hand, the alternative seems to me to be too reckless to contemplate. . . .

CUDDESDON, WHEATLEY, OXON.
March 26, 1922.

. . . I was very much interested to hear that you had been discussing "Spiritual Healing"; it is a much more complicated and far-reaching subject than people like Hepher have any idea. They are obsessed with what is called the Sacramental theory of life, and use it as a short cut to solve every problem. I advise you strongly to read an article by Dr. Rivers in Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics* on "Psycho-therapy"—it is quite admirable for its purpose: and puts the issues as lucidly and distinctly as the best scientific minds always do.

I regard most of this loose talk about the Priest and his special gift of physical healing as a reversion to our old friend the Medicine Man: among primitive peoples *because* of their crude knowledge or theory of disease, as being proof of the presence of a malign spirit, religious practices and medicine occupy the same province. But as scientific knowledge advances and religious ideas and aims become more refined and spiritual, the provinces become rightly more distinct.

However, it is allowed by all scientific men that *faith* always plays an important part in the treatment of disease —but from the scientific point of view it doesn't matter *much* whether the object of faith is well-grounded or not. It doesn't matter whether you believe in your doctor and he cheers you up by telling you his treatment is doing *you* good, or whether you spend the night in the temple of Aesculapius or visit Lourdes or get a Priest to come and pray and lay hands upon you and anoint you. But then they have to admit it does make a difference to the *character* of the man what he believes in or what is his motive. And there the religious teacher comes in, and has to ask what is it that makes a man "whole"? What is he to teach first of all? And to what motive must he appeal? It seems to me that when you begin to answer these questions the Church as such must direct all its efforts to helping a man to put himself in right relations with God, whether he is well or whether he is ill. And if he is helped to do this, it may— no doubt will—help to remove or arrest disturbances which produce disease in many instances—but *that* is not the main purpose: it is only subsidiary to the real object that "the Minister of Word and Sacraments" has in view.

There seems to me to be a real danger in much of what is called "Spiritual healing"—especially when uninstructed and unscientific people resort to it. It may bring relief and help, but it never really attacks the causes themselves of the disease, and I believe in many instances is calculated

ultimately to stimulate those causes. One of the great difficulties of getting beyond discussion in this perplexing subject is that the psycho-analysts and auto-suggestionists and Freudians all are quarrelling amongst themselves!

I can let you have a lot of literature on the subject, but much of it is not very profitable.

I have read the Memoir of your brother. . . . The truth is that Biography is by far the most searching and difficult form of literary composition.

I don't think politics can ever have been more interesting than they are in these months, and no one can tell us what it is that is working itself out. I think the only thing I want is the reassertion of the House of Commons. I feel alarmed by the growing distrust of the principle of representation. . . .

CUDDESDON, WHEATLEY, OXON.
July 29, 1922.

. . . I have to go off next Thursday to Copenhagen to attend a Conference on behalf of the Archbishop of the World Alliance "to promote international friendship through the Churches". I am very reluctant to go, for I think these conferences are much overdone; and most of them begin and end in frothy utterances which very quickly turn vapid. People don't realise that if "the Churches" make pronouncements upon big problems, International relations, Labour Unrest, Commercial morality, and the rest, which fail to come to grips with living practical issues, they do positive harm: for the plain man naturally says, "If that's all the help or light you have got to give us, then I have no use for you." I have to make a speech at a big public meeting on Sunday night in Copenhagen to introduce the Conference, and then on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday we form into Committees to discuss various aspects of the problem, and Thursday I am invited by the Crown Prince of Sweden to go over and spend the day

with him at his lovely country home. . . . I hope then to go and spend a few days with Haldane at Cloan, where I shall be regaled with Einstein and the fourth dimension and get diverted from parishes and dilapidations. . . . Yes, I enjoyed Trevelyan's book immensely: it took away the nasty taste of Strachey. I was greatly interested in his presentment of the Century, and his conviction that after the 'sixties the really "great time" was over. I remember once making Parker Smith very angry by telling him that I didn't think English politics had ever reached the same level of statesmanship and statesmanlike motive after 1868. Within the limits of what he set out to do, I thought his survey of India and of Ireland was very cleverly done. I can't ramble on any more, but go back to plodding along the dusty road of business letters. But I should like to dissertate on House of Lords Reform. I believe all these schemes are on the wrong tack, and I think Bryce misled them. He was ridden with the R. Empire and its imposing legal fabric and later in life became fascinated by the American Commonwealth. Can you imagine any two sets of institutions less likely to make one appreciate the English Constitution?

The real issue at present I believe is, How to make the House of Commons supreme, and govern wisely? . . .

CUDDESDON, WHEATLEY, OXON.
March 4, 1923.

. . . I was delighted to hear an account of the Anniversary House dinner: you must have had a wonderfully happy evening, even if the shadow of all that the war has meant lay across it. I never can be present at these gatherings now without feeling the incalculable loss and difference those five years brought. I can't think what is to happen now, and I don't know whether it would be more disastrous if the French were to succeed or if they were to fail. I have

had some interesting communications with leading French representatives of the Protestant Church in Paris, and also some Germans. The French representatives are all for negotiations, and are opposed to Poincaré and all his works, but their position is very difficult because nothing wounds them and the French people more deeply than the suggestion that the French are wholly to be condemned. Indeed, my German correspondents admit that their own Government have been dishonest ever since the Armistice, and have brought all this upon themselves. If this is really the situation, it seems to me there is a good opening for negotiation—but for the bitterness and animosity on both sides. People ever since the war seem more bent upon destroying than reconstructing. Of course like everybody else I have been reading Page's *Memoir and Letters*; he *was* a delightfully open-hearted fellow, and it was a mercy he was Ambassador and had a man like Grey to appreciate him. I was amused all the way through to hear him declaring that the salvation of the world depended ultimately upon American "Kultur"! I don't know if you analysed his argument that there was much to choose between it and the Kaiser's. But Americans always exaggerate. What a miserable figure Wilson becomes! Utterly selfish and really callous. I think the Greeks called it ῥαδιουργία, a selfish levity when a man is concerned with great issues. I wonder whether it is the case that the Americans have admitted too large a volume of aliens and for too long ever really to develop a worthy Kultur of their own? I was persuaded to read Guedalla's *Napoleon*—by the promise that it would interest me as much as Grant Robertson's *Bismarck*. But I was sadly disappointed. I don't like the superficiality of it—he seems to me to be what the Psalmist describes as a "busy mocker". . . . Have you read Ernest Barker's *Greek Political Theory?* I really think it is one of the very best books I ever read on the subject, and particularly on Plato. . . .

CUDDESDON, OXFORD.
February 26, 1924.

. . . We had a most happy and successful time at Portofino, and it was perfectly delicious to be taking our lunch out. Sauntering up the hill and then basking in the sun on a rock looking over the Mediterranean and across to the Carrara mountains. I was greatly pleased to find I could do the same whole day expeditions (especially to the little monastery perched on the hill above Rapallo) which I did thirteen years ago, before I started on the riotous life of a Bishop! There were some pleasant visitors in the Hotel, and I had some nice chats with the old Lady Carnarvon, who has a charming villa there and was very kind and hospitable. I *did* really get on with my Italian conversation this time, though I know I only speak a sort of bourgeois lingo, and would be cast out of any Italian drawing-room. (I still go pegging away in spare times with Dante.) But the only thing worth thinking about at this moment is the "new politics": curiously enough I had a lot of correspondence with Haldane (and some with Parmoor) at the time when Ramsay MacDonald was forming his Ministry: I don't know why they should have consulted me, but Haldane was anxious to clear up his mind about joining them. When I was with him at Cloan in October he was all against joining any Ministry again. However, R. MacDonald went to see him in January and was quite bent on having his help. R. M. has taken very much to heart the responsibility of it all, and especially responsibility for keeping up the best tradition of the parliamentary system. I urged H. strongly to go in and help: his knowledge of the Cabinet system, as well as his keen interest in making it more workable, as well as his unrivalled knowledge of the administration of departments must be invaluable. I have been to stay with him inLondon since, and he is very glad to have joined the Government:

he tells me it is extraordinarily interesting: they are wonderfully business-like at Cabinet Meetings, and are keen to arrive at "the right thing to do" without considering too much whether it would be a good party move. They have been accustomed to work hard at their Trades Union administration and are up at 7 A.M. and have got their Cabinet papers read by nine! Haldane has some anxious moments, on account of their lack of experience and of the sense of Cabinet responsibility—in one sense it is a mark of their downright sincerity—*e.g.* Henderson at Burnley! R. MacDonald has made a real impression in the H. of C. as leader: he is dignified and controls his rank and file, considering everything, in a wonderful way: (he has something of the dominie about him with the tawse behind his back)—but his influence goes really a good deal deeper than that. He does appreciate fully the difficulties of his position and the chances of falling into blunders. I thought Garrod the Regius Professor of Medicine, who can't *bear* the Labour Party, summed up to me the general impression very pithily in the remark, "I am *afraid* this Government is going to be *horribly* efficient!" I have been to the H. of Lords once or twice: this Government Bench doesn't look at all "Labourish", and you miss the broad Lancashire and Scotch and Welsh that dominates the H. of C.—only "Little Bo-peep" (vide *Punch*)—our old friend Muir Mackenzie—has a very tiny flock to shepherd!

I am really distressed at the mess the Liberals are getting themselves into: I can't think why or how Asquith allowed Pringle to lead them into such an ignominious manœuvre over the Cruiser debate: and I doubt if they'll make a better figure over Poplar. It all gives the impression of being so petty and merely factious. The Dock trouble all began in October when the dockers' leaders wanted to begin settling terms, in anticipation of January 16, with the employers: —— (in his characteristic way: I had experience of him in the big dock strike of 1913) wouldn't

even listen, but turned the whole thing down most insolently. The leaders were having great difficulty in holding some of the men back all through August and September—so naturally there seemed to them to be no alternative but an ultimatum in January. I have great hopes that the question I used to beg to be tackled when I was Bishop of Southwark will at last be faced: the decasualisation of Dock Labour: it's a most complicated question I know, but the present system is the most demoralising thing on earth, and also has the effect of congregating down at Bank side every sort of loafer out of a job. I begged the reconstruction Committee after the war to tackle it then immediately, and that was a moment when I think the employers would have been fully ready to take it up. But everybody was too tired to tackle anything seriously then! Alas! for my sins I am plunged in all the arrangements for the Church Congress, which is to be held in Oxford at the end of September. It *is* a bore! I haven't seen Fearon's book,[1] though I read his articles in the *Wykehamist*. I should like to have read it very much.

Have you ever read Renan's *L'Avenir de la Science*? I think it is extraordinarily good. I have been reading it now over again, and I am greatly impressed by the forecast he made of the intellectual movement of the nineteenth century. My main occupation has been putting together a lecture I am to give at Leicester on "William Law": it has been a real delight to do this. Now I've talked quite enough about myself. I am glad to hear you like the new Cloister: the Warden of New College spoke well of it (with some qualifications) when I was sitting next to him at dinner the other day. But, like you, I shrink very much from "the function" on May 31. I can't help thinking of what our Wykehamists whom we commemorate would have liked and disliked most. But it can't be helped: there

[1] *Parish Records of the Archdeaconry of Winchester*, by Fearon and Williams.

is a passion for "functions", and every function tries to go one better than the last. . . .

CUDDESDON, OXFORD.
March 24, 1924.

. . . I greatly appreciated your kind thought of sending me the telegram with the very welcome news that Williams had been appointed. I have of course sent him a line of greeting at once. He starts out with the assurance that he has the complete confidence of colleagues and all at Winchester and I feel sure the School will be happy under him. . . .

To-morrow I am going to a most delightful reunion of Univ. men (staying in College from 5 P.M. till 1 next day), and we are going to present Macan with his portrait. I am greatly looking forward to it. . . .

CUDDESDON, OXFORD.
May 24, 1924.

. . . I thought much of you at the time of Fearon's death. . . . His indeed, if ever there was one, was a dedicated life. . . .

THE BLUE MILL, THROPTON, MORPETH,
NORTHUMBERLAND. *August* 9, 1924.

. . . I was much gratified by the debate in the H. of Lords on the Liquor Control Bill: three days' full debate, with the support of people like Buckmaster, Milner, and the young Conservative peers, was an immense advance upon three years ago, when I was advised not to go to a division. But more than all it was followed by Lord Salisbury's motion for an inquiry instituted by the Government into the possibilities of disinterested management and the admission that there was a strong case for disinterested management—and this is really the only point

I care about. I was asked by a body of some 150 representatives of the rather extreme "No License" section to meet them and to go through the Bill with them: we argued from 10 A.M. till 5 P.M., and I was greatly pleased to bring them round to give up the idea of "No license" as a practical measure of reform, and to concentrate upon the idea of disinterested management. Of course there were some Diehards among them, but an overwhelming majority declared themselves prepared to support me. It has been a most interesting experience. The only thing that made me really sad was to see twenty or thirty peers who had never been near the House taking their seats for the first time and signing the roll for the sole purpose of voting against the Bill, no matter what was said! That is what will abolish the House of Lords, not the Labour Government as such. However, all this is trifling compared with the other problems of the moment, and above all Ireland once more! I don't see any way out of that save by a miracle. Nor do I see how the Bill to set up a Commission in spite of Ulster is going to settle the question. Supposing Ulster says "We refuse to recognise a law which violates the pledge given to us," what are we going to do then? On the other hand, I am told by some of the politicians who have been recently in Ireland that Cosgrave means to declare for complete independence and a Republic unless he can get what he wants. Is that bluff? or—the old story—that Irishmen will do what they will and "damn the consequences"? The so-called Agreement with the Soviets is a sloppy business, I think, and I shouldn't be surprised if it brought about the fall of the Government in the Autumn. I am *told* that Wheatley means to break away and form a definitely "advanced party" who will go for out and out nationalisation and the rest. I believe this would rally the country and all other parties against the Labour Party, but we should have a lot of bitterness and trouble left behind. Wheatley has always declared in

private that he detests the Communist lot and means to work through Parliament and constitutionally: but I am not so sure how far his emotions may not carry him. I don't think people take sufficient account of the nervous strain and sensitiveness to which men who have been through what Wheatley has are subject. Many of them are always "on edge", so I find, and indeed I'm not surprised. It is an amazingly interesting time: I wish I were in the Cabinet!

Have you read Coupland's *William Wilberforce*? I think it is an excellent bit of work—and so vivacious without being overdone, as Coupland might easily have overdone it; and he brings out a very attractive side of Pitt's character, I think. . . .

GODDARDS, ABINGER COMMON, DORKING.
December 27, 1924.

. . . I don't think I ever had such a busy crowded year; Diocesan "business" seems to accumulate more and more every year; Committees of the Church Assembly are innumerable; Liquor Control Bill in the House of Lords and endless Conferences with all manner of people in connection with it; and then the Church Congress. However, I have been wonderfully well all the time, and I seem to have taken quite a new lease of life. I think as one gets older one is able to take things more calmly and to realise better beforehand what sort of emergencies one will have to deal with. Anyhow, the strain is certainly not so great. These last few months have been extraordinarily interesting in politics: I was staying with Haldane at Cloan just about the time of the dissolution in the Autumn, and I gathered that Ramsay MacDonald had become quite overwrought, and so far as his colleagues were concerned acted more and more independently of them: he decided upon a dissolution finally quite "on his own", and never even

consulted Henderson, who is responsible for the party organisation, as to whether they were prepared. Well, here we are with a strong Conservative Government—plenty of ability, and debating power, to a great extent emancipated from the old Unionist programmes, and the country expecting great things of them. If they don't take this chance now, they are undone, and will forfeit the allegiance of the young Conservatives who are all out for constructive reform. I see a good deal of some of the young Conservatives in the H. of Lords—Balfour of Burleigh, Airlie, and others. Their attitude is that the Labour Party are quite right in their view of what the country needs, but wrong in the way they propose to supply the need; on the other hand, nothing makes them more impatient than the Anti-Socialist stunt! . . . I am, of course, very sad about the Liberal Party: not so much because of the small numbers or their miserable distractions, but they seem to me to have run dry spiritually. There's not a spark of true Idealism about them. However, I don't despair. I wish I could see signs of an inspiring leader amongst them. I'm told Firth is about to resign the professorship of Modern History, and I wonder whether Fisher will be appointed: he could still carry on his political work with it: but Davis would be a strong competitor for the professorship all the same. . . .

My own holiday reading has been Conrad, whom I find immensely interesting, and a great artist; and I'm also going steadily through George Eliot again: her iterations and conscientious probings of problems make her rather ponderous, and I don't believe they were really natural to her; I think the homely English village characters and life which were the associations of her early life were her true *métier*. She gives me the impression of a person who in middle life nearly made shipwreck, and was always afterwards haunted by it. But all this by the way: the "real business" is Streeter's masterly book on Gospel Origins. It's a splendid piece of work. I see something of him nowa-

days, and am greatly impressed not only by his learning but still more by the real purity of his mind. So many of the theologians without perhaps knowing it are all the time out for something other than they profess to be. . . .

CUDDESDON, OXFORD.
March 28, 1925.

. . . I must send a line to-day, for I see that dear old Griffith has passed away: I was very fond of him; he always had something interesting to say, and he was a rare type, at any rate nowadays, of a certain refined "Scholarliness": and then always so absolutely modest and self-effacing—I remember the walk we always had together every Boxing Day! . . . I've had quite a lot of choosing headmasters and mistresses lately, and have greatly enjoyed the diversion: I only wished I could be a candidate again myself!

Do read Cole's life of William Cobbett: it's full of interest and he has marshalled all his material with great skill and really does present a picture.

I see Asquith now and again at the H. of Lords—quite the old man and very much changed in appearance: but he still can speak *English* as no one else can.

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